

Evidentiality and Indirectness in Japanese

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Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.

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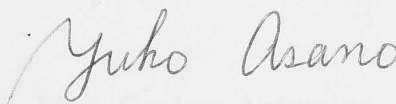
I wish to express my gratitude to a number of people who supported me during various stages of this thesis. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Professor Anna Wierzbicka, who gave me valuable suggestions and criticism on the drafts. Without her excellent guidance, this thesis would not have come to existence.

Declaration

I would also like to thank my mother, Yoko Asano, who read and made very detailed comments on the drafts. She was always willing to read the drafts and help me to improve it. I am very grateful for her comments and criticism.

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Abstract

This thesis presents an attempt to investigate certain indirect phenomena observed in the evidential aspects in Japanese from the perspective of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory (NSM theory) (Wierzbicka 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b).

Although both Japanese and English have a large variety of indirect expressions, they often use them in different proportions, which leads to the different communicative styles. The theory of territory of information which was proposed by Kamio (1979, 1990, 1994, 1995), provides an analysis of evidentiality in Japanese, and specifies the relationship between the forms of utterance and the notion of territory of information. There are, however, many linguistic phenomena which cannot be explained by the theory. Arguments are presented which demonstrate that the notion of territory does not play a major role, instead the speaker's consideration for other people's cognition influences the evidential aspects in Japanese. Examples are given from translated and published texts from Japanese into English, and cultural scripts are proposed by means of the NSM theory.

The issue of the speaker's mood associated with declaratives is also discussed in contrast to English. It will be shown that a slight semantic gap of the speaker's mood between Japanese and English also leads to different criteria of choosing the sentence form. Finally, I will examine some 'potential' forms and '-RARE' forms which are frequently used in Japanese written discourse, and present semantic analysis of those forms by means of the NSM theory.

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Abbreviations used in the texts

ACC	accusative case	
AUX	auxiliary	
COMPL	complementiser	
HM	hearsay marker	
HON	honorific form	
L-D	locative-dative case	
LINK	linking suffix	
LOC	locative case	
NEG	negative	
NOM	nominative case	
NOML	nominaliser	
PASS	passive form	
PAST	past form	
P	polite form	
PRES	present form	
PROG	progressive form	
Q	question marker	
SF	sentence-final particle	
TOP	topic particle	

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CHAPTER 1

Different Languages and Different Communicative Styles

1.0 Introduction

Anyone who has a command of a foreign language realizes that it is necessary to acquire not only syntactic knowledge, but also communicative skills in order to use the target language appropriately. Without understanding cultural rules encoded in the language, an utterance could sound unnatural, or sometimes inappropriate to the listener, even though one speaks in a way which is grammatically correct. While the speaker is only a beginner of the language, communicative mistakes are often overlooked; however, if the speaker is already proficient in the language, such errors could be considered a problem of his/her personality. In the present era of multi-cultural communication, it is crucial for speakers of a foreign language to comprehend and adjust themselves to different cultural norms embedded in the target language.

The purpose of this thesis is to describe Japanese communicative style in contrast to English from a cross-cultural point of view, and explain different cultural rules encoded in both languages. In order to identify how, and why Japanese communicative style is different from English, I deal with the subject in relation to the issue of evidentiality, focusing on some 'indirect' phenomena observed in Japanese sentence-final forms.

1.1 General Issues in Cross-Cultural Communication

With the growth of international and multi-cultural communication, more people now face problems relating to communication between people from different cultural

backgrounds. Gumperz (1982a, 1982b), Tannen (1981, 1986, 1990), Schiffrin (1984), and Kochman (1981) analyze different types of communication problems caused by varying ethnic styles and discourse strategies. Tannen (1981), for example, observes that the fast rate of speech and tendency to overlap is used cooperatively among New York Jewish people as a way of showing interest, while it is interpreted as a lack of attention by non-New Yorkers. Similarly, Gumperz (1982a:187-203) reports that the lexical differences between Black dialect and standard English caused serious miscommunication among participants in public settings. As these researchers point out, these differences in the style are often based on personality judgements, and can be a major factor in interethnic tensions. In multi-ethnic societies such as United States and Australia, understanding of the style differences is a crucial issue in multi-cultural communication.

In the last few decades, the amount of contact between Japanese speakers and English speakers in daily life has increased. Although the nature of the communication ranges from the level of a governmental negotiation to a student's daily interaction, the difficulties and problems which people have seem more or less similar. In order to identify and describe the differences in human behaviours or communicative patterns between Japanese speakers and English speakers, considerable numbers of terms or labels have been applied in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and linguistics. For example, it is often mentioned that 'individualism' is highly valued in the society of North America, whereas 'groupism' is a main principle of Japanese society (Reischauer 1977; Condon 1980). Similarly, the Americans 'verbalize' what they think or feel, and English Anglo ways of speaking are characterized by a high degree of 'self-assertion', while the Japanese communicate verbally on a more superficial level, and 'self-assertion' is avoided and suppressed (Barnlund 1975; Suzuki 1986). Being 'ambiguous' or 'vague' is a distinctive feature of Japanese, whereas being 'clear' is characteristic of English (Ikegami 1982; Inoue 1993). English speakers are 'direct',

whereas Japanese speakers are more 'indirect' (Suzuki 1986; Mizutani-Mizutani 1987).

These labels might more or less characterize each culture; however, the polarized framework is itself strongly culture-bound, and fails to grasp the differences accurately and objectively. As Hamaguchi and Kumon (1982:2-24) argue, for example, if Japanese society is not based on 'individualism', it is automatically categorized into its counterpart 'groupism' by the dual distinction, even though there are no indigenous words or concepts for 'individualism' or 'groupism' in Japanese. In other words, terms such as 'individualism' or 'groupism' are culture-specific English concepts, and they cannot form a reliable analytical framework. From a Japanese point of view, Japanese indigenous words such as *wa* (roughly, 'harmony'), or *omoiyari* (roughly, 'consideration'), describe Japanese interpersonal relationships more correctly, rather than a pejorative term such as 'groupism'.

In the same way, among cross-cultural researchers, there is a general agreement that the Japanese have little faith in verbal expression, and silence is more valued than speech (Barnlund 1975; Clancy 1986). As revealed in traditional sayings such as *Iwanu ga hana* 'Silence is better than speech', it seems reasonable for many scholars to believe that Japanese people do not 'verbalize' what they think or feel, compared with English speakers. However, the point which needs to be explored is to what extent 'verbalization' is discouraged in Japanese culture. If it were true that the Japanese do not express their opinions at all, Japanese discourse would not work. What do they do at a conference or work-place meeting? What about when they write an academic article or when they introduce a new theory? It is obvious that they do communicate their opinions, not read each other's minds. At least among Japanese speakers, opinions are constantly exchanged in daily conversation. Although in Japanese, the use of clear and unequivocal expressions might be more limited than in

English, the important thing is to be discreet in the choice of words when giving opinions rather than to avoid verbalizing them.

To sum up, what matters in Japanese discourse is for the most part, not ‘what to say’ but ‘how to say it’, and to a large extent, this would be true also in the case of English. Although numerous attempts have been made to describe cultural differences, most of them fail to grasp each communicative style sufficiently. We need a framework which describes the differences in a culture-independent way, and explains to what extent ‘verbalization’/‘self-assertion’ is suppressed or welcomed, or about what and how people are ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ in each society.

1. 2 Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and Cultural Scripts

A theory I adopt to analyze the communicative style in Japanese and English is the theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) (Wierzbicka 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998). The NSM theory has been proposed and developed in an attempt to overcome problems in previous studies which rely on English concepts and terms such as ‘self-assertion’, ‘verbalize’, ‘directness’, or ‘indirectness’ in contrasting cultures. Over many years of cross-linguistic semantic research, Wierzbicka has done this by introducing universal and culture-independent concepts such as *I*, *you*, *want*, *say*, *good* and *bad*. These basic words are called ‘semantic primes’, whose equivalent counterparts can be found in other languages, about 60 of which have been discovered so far. A full table of semantic primes explained in English is given as follows:

Semantic primes (Wierzbicka 1997b)

Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING(THING), PEOPLE, BODY
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, MANY/MUCH, ALL
Attributes	GOOD, BAD, BIG, SMALL
Mental Predicates	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Speech	SAY, WORD, TRUE
Actions, Events, Movements	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and Possession	THERE IS, HAVE
Life and Death	LIVE, DIE
Logical Concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Time	WHEN (TIME), NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME
Space	WHERE (PLACE), HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE
Intensifier, Augmentor	VERY, MORE
Taxonomy, Partonomy	KIND OF, PART OF
Similarity	LIKE

The semantic primes listed above have their own language-independent syntax. For example, mental predicates such as 'think' or 'know' may combine with substantives 'I', and determiners 'this', providing 'I think this', or 'I know this'. The resulting sentences have the form of simple clauses which have equivalents in other languages, excluding language-specific complex sentences such as participial constructions, relative clauses, or nominalizations. Some examples of basic sentences follow (Wierzbicka 1992:10):

I think this
 I want this
 you do this
 this happened
 this person did something bad
 something bad happened because of this

Semantic concepts are described by a set of these basic sentences. Based on the simple syntactic patterns listed above, it is possible within the framework of the NSM theory to state hypotheses about cultural norms which prevail in each society, and which are encoded in this society: 'cultural scripts'. For example, Japanese culture is described as being weak in 'self-assertion' since it discourages people from saying clearly what they think and want, whereas Anglo-Saxon culture encourages people to do so (Barnlund 1975; Suzuki 1986). A cultural script which manifests this Japanese attitude can be represented in contrast to Anglo culture as follows (Wierzbicka 1997:34-35):

Japanese

I can't say something like this to other people:
 'I think this, I don't think this'

I can't say something like this to other people:
 'I want this, I don't want this'

when someone says something to me
 I can't say something like this to this person:
 'I don't think the same'

Anglo-American

everyone can say something like this:

‘I think this, I don’t think this’

it is good to say what I think

when someone says something like this: ‘I think this’

I don’t have to say something like this: ‘I think the same’

The scripts are self-explanatory, rather than using an argument such as being weak in ‘self-assertion’. Furthermore, scripts are composed of universal concepts and based on simple syntactic rules, and therefore, they can be translated into any other language, and are easy to understand not only for native speakers of English, but also for non-native speakers.

Thus cultural scripts can describe cultural differences from a neutral perspective, and the NSM theory offers a reliable framework which can integrate the results of previous studies. For example, as Wierzbicka (1991a) points out, in cross-cultural studies, white Anglo American culture is characterized as being ‘self-assertive’ or ‘direct’ compared to Japanese culture by some scholars (Barnlund 1975; Suzuki 1986), and simultaneously described as being weak in ‘self-assertion’ or ‘indirect’ compared to black American culture by other scholars (Kochman 1981). In fact, different researchers use these terms in a different sense, and it looks as if there is a ‘scale of directness’ (Wierzbicka 1991; Goddard 1997). Cultural scripts can solve this contradiction. Regarding ‘self-assertion’, the general scripts among Black-American, White Anglo-American, and Japanese culture can be portrayed as follows (Wierzbicka 1991a:83):

Black American culture

I want/think/feel something now
 I want to say it ('self-assertion')
 I want to say it now

White Anglo-American culture

I want/think/feel something
 I want to say it ('self-assertion')
 I cannot say it now
 because someone else is saying something now ('autonomy', 'turn-taking')

Japanese culture

I can't say: I want/I think/I feel something
 someone could feel something bad because of this
 if I want to say something
 I have to think about it before I say it

These scripts clearly demonstrate the communicative differences among three cultures: in Black American culture, speakers are allowed to express themselves spontaneously, and to overlap with one another (Kochman 1981); in White Anglo-American culture, speakers can express themselves, as long as they do not infringe other's right to speak (Tannen 1981); in Japanese culture, speakers are expected to refrain from saying what they want, think, and feel, in order not to offend other people (Suzuki 1986; Clancy 1986). Furthermore, the scripts reflect core cultural values such as *enryo* (roughly, 'restraint' or 'reserve'), or *wa* (roughly 'harmony') for Japanese culture, and 'spontaneity' for black American culture, and 'personal autonomy' for white Anglo-American culture. More importantly, since the scripts are composed of universal concepts, they are accessible to cross-cultural researchers of any languages, and therefore, scripts are easily tested and refined. Thus the NSM

approach is the most reliable framework for contrasting different cultures, and we are able to understand what kinds of communicative styles prevail in each culture within the framework of the NSM theory.

1.3 'How to Say it' and Being 'Indirect' in Japanese

In 1.3, I will focus on the issue of 'how to say it', by means of the NSM theory. 'How to say it' has a close relation to being 'direct' or 'indirect', and as Kochman (1981) claims, generally speaking, English speakers are as careful in the choice of words as to 'how to say it' as Japanese speakers. The frequent use of the so-called whimperatives in social interaction shows that a bare imperative is not expected to be used in the Anglo society, whereas it is widely used in Hebrew (Wierzbicka 1991a). For instance, in a coffee shop, a standard sentence in making an order is something like *Could I have a coffee?*, rather than a bare imperative such as *Give me a coffee (please)*. According to Wierzbicka (1991a), this kind of 'indirectness' is based on the core Anglo cultural value which acknowledges the addressee's 'personal autonomy', which can be explained as follows (Wierzbicka 1991:89):

I want you to do X
I don't know if you will do it

The emphasis on the value of 'personal autonomy' also appears in the frequent use of hedging expressions such as *I think* or *I suppose* in saying something bad about the addressee: for example, in a formal situation such as a conference or a work-place meeting, one would say *I think you are mistaken* rather than *You are mistaken*. As Wierzbicka (1991:92) mentions, compared with Jewish culture, the mainstream Anglo cultural tradition discourages open confrontation in order to keep

social harmony between independent individuals, and this example shows that English speakers are also expected to be considerate of their choice of words as a cultural norm.

Although English also has numerous ‘indirect’ expressions which are used in making requests or suggestions, there are many cases where the Japanese way of speaking is described as more ‘indirect’ than English. In the field of Japanese language education, for example, it is claimed that a new teaching method is needed which instructs learners how to speak ‘indirectly’ to be polite in Japanese (see Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; Okazaki 1987; also Suzuki 1989). Even though the learner uses the polite form, from a pragmatic point of view, there are many cases where the utterance sounds rude to the Japanese listener. Let me give a few examples which are characteristic of Japanese ‘indirectness’. Mizutani and Mizutani (1987) illustrate several cases which are described as ‘indirect’ in contrast to English, such as referring to numbers or amounts in a non-specific way. For instance, when one buys apples, one will normally say (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:33):

Mitsu hodo/gurai/bakari kudasai.

‘Please give me about three of them.’

In this case, although the number of apples is clear, the unspecified expression *hodo/gurai/bakari* ‘about’ is generally added. Similarly, in making proposals or suggestions, the Japanese generally use an ‘indirect’ expression such as *demo*. For example, in the case where one invites someone to have tea, he/she would say (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987:34):

Ocha demo nomimasen ka ?

‘(lit.) How about having some tea or something?’

In this case, the reason why *ocha demo* is preferred to *ocha o* ‘tea ACC’ is generally explained as follows: because the former gives the listener other possibilities such as having coffee, juice, or something else; the speaker avoids pushing one choice to the listener, and as a result, the utterance sounds polite to the listener (Mizutani and Mizutani 1987; see also Nakayama 1985). It is reasonable to suppose that the use of the ‘indirect’ expression reflects the Japanese cultural values such as *enryo* or *omoiyari*, from a cross-cultural point of view. This deliberate use of the ‘indirect’ expression can be portrayed as follows (Wierzbicka 1991:95):

I say: I would want something like this

I don’t say: ‘I want this’

Suggesting things in a ‘vague’ or ‘indirect’ way is also frequently observed in Japanese when one gives information or opinions to the listener. Expressions such as *mitai* ‘it appears’, *yooda* ‘it looks’, or *sooda* ‘I hear’ are frequently used in daily conversation. As noted earlier, English speakers also frequently use ‘indirect’ expressions in saying something bad about the listener; however, there are many cases where Japanese ‘indirectness’ does not seem to have direct relation to politeness. Let me give an example from classroom teaching of Japanese. Suppose that students learned the expression *X ga suki desu* ‘I like X’ in the class. Students practice this expression, asking each other what they like. After the practice, a tutor asks a student Tom what John likes:

Tutor: Jon-san wa nani ga suki desu ka?

John HON TOP what NOM like-P Q

‘What does John like?’

Tom: (a) (?) Jon-san wa sakkaa ga suki desu.
 John HON TOP soccer NOM like-P

‘John likes soccer.’

(b) Jon-san wa sakkaa ga suki da soodesu.
 John HON TOP soccer NOM like I.hear-P

‘I hear that John likes soccer.’

In this case, utterance (b) with *soodesu* ‘I hear’ is more appropriate as Tom’s response in Japanese, although (a) is grammatically correct. Students who are native speakers of English generally respond without *soodesu*, since in this case in English, it is more appropriate to convey the information without the ‘indirect’ expression, and we usually need to instruct students to respond with *soodesu*. This is also a good example which shows why Japanese discourse is often characterized as being more ‘indirect’ compared to English discourse. Then, what kind of rule influences the choice of the ‘indirect’ expression in this case?

In translated and published works, there are a number of examples which show how frequently, and in which situations the ‘indirect’ expression is chosen in Japanese whereas it is unnecessary in English. This is because translators are required to render sentences not only grammatically correctly, but also appropriately so that utterances sound natural in the translated language. Therefore, if an expression is considered unnecessary or inappropriate, it is omitted or replaced with another expression. Let me give an example from modern Japanese literature. The writer Banana Yoshimoto starts the novel *Kicchin* with the following:

Watashi ga kono yo de ichiban sukina basho wa daidokoro da to **OMOU**.

Doko no demo, donna no demo, sore ga daidokoro de areba shokuji o tsukuru basho de areba watashi wa tsuraku nai.

(Yoshimoto 1988:6, underline and emphasis added)

The place I like best in this world is the kitchen. No matter where it is, no matter what kind, if it's kitchen, if it's a place where they make food, it's fine with me.

(Translated by Megan Backus 1988:3, underline added)

Let us focus on the first utterance. If we translate this first sentence literally, it will be rendered 'I think the place I like best in this world is the kitchen.' However, in the translation, the expression *to omou* 'I think' is omitted; obviously, the expression is considered unnecessary or unnatural in this context in English. The question then arises: why is the expression omitted in English in the same context? In other words, why is the expression *to omou* chosen in Japanese, when it is unnecessary in English? The examples given above suggest that there are different rules for choosing the 'indirect' expression in Japanese and in English, and this 'indirectness'/'directness' offers the key to an understanding of the different communicative style between these two languages.

1.4 The Scope and Organization of the Thesis

This thesis intends to investigate Japanese communicative style from a cross-cultural point of view, in order to identify 'how' and 'why' Japanese speakers appear to be more 'indirect', compared with English speakers. The scope of the study is defined by its focus on the issue of evidentiality, and especially on the relation between given information and the form of the utterance. As a method, I will use several published works which have been translated from Japanese into English, and compare how Japanese 'indirect' expressions are rendered into English. I will in particular concentrate on an analysis of the discourse where 'indirect' expressions are translated into 'direct' expressions in English, and provide cultural scripts for explaining the

different criteria for determining the sentence forms, from the perspective of the NSM theory. Further, I will attempt to describe the reason for communicative differences between these two languages in terms of a semantic point of view.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: chapter 2 reviews previous studies which deal with the issue of evidentiality in Japanese; chapter 3 presents a reexamination of previous theories which explain the criteria of choosing the sentence form in terms of speaker vs listener, and points out that a new category of third persons is necessary for genuine solution of relevant phenomena; chapter 4 provides contrastive analyses of conversational texts from translated data, and proposes cultural scripts for both languages, which explain the criteria for choosing sentence forms; chapter 5 gives a semantic analysis of a speaker's mood associated with declarative sentences, and demonstrates that a semantic difference between Japanese and English can lead to different criteria for selecting the sentence forms; chapter 6 provides semantic analyses of some 'potential' forms and '-RARE' forms in Japanese, and shows that those forms function as strategic expressions in written discourse; chapter 7 concludes with a summary of main points discussed in this thesis, together with a few remarks on further implications of the NSM approach.

CHAPTER 2

Previous Studies of Evidentiality

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I would like to outline previous studies concerning the issue of evidentiality in Japanese. Languages provide a repertoire of devices for conveying various attitudes toward knowledge. There are matters which people are sure of because they have reliable evidence for, or faith in them; and there are matters which people are less sure of and simply believe that they are possible. Different languages not only use different linguistic codes, but also focus on different kinds of evidentiality. Although both Japanese and English have a large variety of evidential devices, they often use them in different proportions.

Over the last several years, a considerable number of studies have been devoted to the issue of evidentiality in Japanese. Aoki (1986), for example, claims that Japanese has a well-developed system of sentence-final forms, relevant from this point of view, giving detailed classifications. Kamio (1979, 1990, 1994, 1995) provides a new analysis of evidentiality from a pragmatic point of view, introducing a notion of ‘territory of information’. Suzuki (1989) proposes a similar model to Kamio called the ‘listener’s private territory’. Masuoka (1992) also discusses the issue from a pragmatic point of view with the notion of ‘another person’s private territory’; however he argues that the basic rule which governs evidentiality should be explained from a semantic point of view. In the following sections, I will review in detail how pragmatic rules regarding evidentiality in Japanese are explained in these previous studies.

2.1 The Theory of Territory of Information

Among several arguments on evidentiality in Japanese, Kamio (1979, 1990, 1994, 1995) has taken some important steps in the direction of pragmatic theory. Let us first concentrate on Kamio's theory of territory of information (1979, 1990, 1994, 1995) since his pragmatic analyses provide some useful clues for identifying Japanese communicative style from a cross-cultural point of view.

The basic idea of the theory is derived from the study of territory in animal behavior, under the assumption that human territory is also reflected in the language use and systematically controls it. According to Kamio, there are two conceptual categories, called the speaker's and the listener's¹ territories of information, and a speaker is expected to use the 'direct form' when giving the information which falls into his/her territory, and to select the 'indirect form' when conveying the information which does not fall within his/her territory. First let me give some examples of each form² (Kamio 1994:70):

(1) 'Direct form'

Watashi, atama ga itai.
I head NOM ache

'I have a headache.'

(2) 'Indirect form'

a. Ano hito, atama ga itai TTE.
that person head NOM ache I.hear

'I hear that that person has a headache.'

¹ Kamio uses the term 'hearer'. In this thesis, I use the term 'listener' as a counterpart of 'speaker'.

² For the spelling of Japanese, Kamio uses the *kunrei* style. In this thesis, I will follow the Hepburn style which is more widely used for romanization.

- b. Ano hito, atama ga itai YOODA.
that person head NOM ache appear

‘It appears that that person has a headache.’

- c. Ano hito, atama ga itai RASHII.
that person head NOM ache seem

‘It seems that that person has a headache.’

The ‘direct form’ in utterance (1) is a zero form which expresses the information in a direct and definite manner. In contrast, sentence-final forms like in (2) are called the ‘indirect forms’, which make the assertion weaker and more indefinite (Kamio 1994:71).

The traditional analysis (cf. Aoki 1986) provides the obvious explanation that since sentences in (2) express information obtained by the speaker’s observation of a third party and not by his/her own direct experience, the information cannot be expressed by the ‘direct form’. Therefore, if the information is obtained by the speaker’s direct experience, this cannot be expressed as information based on hearsay or inference. If we turn (1) into the ‘indirect form’, the utterance sounds quite odd (Kamio 1994:70):

- (3)?? Watashi, atama ga itai TTE.
I head NOM ache I.hear

‘(Lit.) I hear I have a headache.’

According to Kamio, what is important here is not whether or not this traditional explanation is correct, but the correlation between information obtained through the speaker’s direct experience and the ‘direct form’. A first approximation of his explanation is as follows (Kamio 1994:71):

the speaker has a conceptual category that is called his/her 'territory of information'. Information that is obtained through the speaker's direct experience is a central component of information that falls within his/her territory of information, precisely because such information is directly acquired by the speaker through his/her own experience. The generalization reached in this subsection suggests that information falling into the speaker's territory is expressed in the direct form.

Thus, in (1) since the information falls into the speaker's territory, the utterance takes the 'direct form'. Note also that the speaker's territory of information includes not only his/her direct experience, but also other kinds of information which is close to the speaker. Kamio suggests the following four different classes of information which are relevant to the speaker's territory of information, and asserts that the pragmatic rule of selecting the sentence-final form in Japanese is governed by the notion of territory of information (Kamio 1994:83):

Conditions

- (a) information obtained through the speaker's internal direct experience
- (b) information embodying detailed knowledge which falls into the speaker's professional or other expertise
- (c) information obtained through the speaker's external direct experience
- (d) information about persons, objects, events and facts close to the speaker including information about the speaker him/herself

In (a), 'internal direct experience' means so-called internal feelings such as pain, emotions, feelings, and beliefs within the experiencer's mind. In contrast, 'external direct experience' in (c) means experience which is obtained from outside the experiencer through the five senses. Conditions listed above have the following characteristic: 'in general, utterances expressing information which meets these

conditions cannot be made in forms other than the direct form'³ (Kamio 1994:83). For instance, if the speaker is a professional demographer or meteorologist, which meets condition (b), an utterance concerning geographical information takes the 'direct form' as follows (Kamio 1994:73):

- (4) Kyooto no jinkoo wa 150-man gurai desu yo.
Kyoto GEN population TOP 150-ten-thousand about is-P SF

'The population of Kyoto is about 1,500,000.'

Similarly, utterance (5) below conveys information about persons and things which are close to the speaker, and therefore, it is also expressed in the 'direct form' (Kamio 1994:73):

- (5) Kanai wa 46 desu.
my.wife TOP 46 is-P

'My wife is 46 years old.'

If this information were expressed in the 'indirect form', then the utterance would sound strange (Kamio 1994:73):

- (6)?? Kanai wa 46 da SOODESU.
my.wife TOP is I.hear-P

'(Lit.) I hear my wife is 46.'

What has to be noted is that 'the speaker's territory of information is a conceptual category which contains information 'close' to the speaker him/herself' (Kamio 1994:77).

³ I will deal with the exceptions which Kamio adds in 1994 in chapter 3, section 3.1.

The listener’s territory of information, on the other hand, can be defined quite simply by replacing the term the ‘speaker’ for the ‘listener’ in the conditions listed above. If the speaker assumes that information falls into the territories of both, or information falls into the listener’s territory only, the utterance does not take the ‘direct form’. The basic rule of selecting the sentence form can be shown in the form of the following table (Kamio 1990:32):

The rule of selecting the sentence-final form in Japanese ⁴

		speaker's territory	
		in	out
listener's territory	out	A	D
		direct form	indirect form
	in	B	C
		direct <i>ne</i> form	Indirect <i>ne</i> form

So far, we have been concerned with examples in the category A. Let us next consider the categories B, C, and D in turn. If the speaker assumes that information falls completely into both territories, that is, in the case of B, that information must be expressed in the ‘direct *ne* form’ (or its variants such as *nee* or *naa*) (Kamio 1994:88):

- (7) Ii tenki da NEE.
 nice weather is SF

 ‘It’s a beautiful day, isn’t it?’

This is the case where both the speaker and the listener are under a clear blue sky. Since both partners directly perceive the weather, the speaker assumes that the information falls into the territories of both. As Kamio explains, the final particle *ne*

⁴ Kamio later gives a revised Table in Kamio (1994); however, here I use the basic one in Kamio (1990) since it does not involve a theoretical difference to the present analysis.

(or its variants such as *nee* or *naa*) is indispensable. If it is dropped, then the character of the utterance changes drastically, and the utterance becomes an instance of case A.

Next is the case C, in which information does not fall within the speaker's territory, while it falls completely within the listener's. Kamio explains that this case requires the form of utterance with *ne*, but here what is used is the 'indirect form' immediately followed by the particle (Kamio 1994:93):

- (8) a. Kyooto no jinkoo wa 150-man gurai RASHII NE.
Kyoto GEN population TOP 150-ten-thousand about seem SF

'It seems that the population of Kyoto is about 1,500,000, isn't it?'

- b. Kyooto no jinkoo wa 150-man gurai no YOODA NE.
Kyoto GEN population TOP 150-ten-thousand about GEN appear SF

'It appears that the population of Kyoto is about 1,500,000, isn't it?'

Finally, we consider the case D where information falls within neither the speaker's nor the listener's territory of information. In this case, the sentence takes the 'indirect form' (Kamio 1994:94):

- (9) Arasuka no fuyu wa monosugoi RASHII yo.
Alaska GEN winter TOP terrible seem SF

'It seems winter in Alaska is terrible.'

Kamio explains that utterance (9) is natural when both the speaker and the listener have only hearsay information about winter in Alaska, and this is the case in which the 'indirect form' must be used.

Therefore, according to Kamio's theory, basically, all the Japanese sentence-final forms are systematically governed by the rule of territory of information: the

speaker first decides into which conditions information falls, and depending on the decision, he/she selects the sentence-final form.

It is a well-known fact that Japanese has a restriction of subject in sentences which express one's inner feelings (cf. Teramura 1972, Aoki 1986). Kamio (1994:251) calls these sentences 'psychological utterances', and argues that the restriction can be explained by his theory. Consider first the following examples:

- (10) Watashi wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
I TOP water NOM drink-want

'I want to drink water.'

- (11) Watashi wa sabishii.
I TOP feel.lonely

'I feel lonely.'

Utterances (10) and (11) are grammatical; however if the experiencer is a second or third person, the sentences become ungrammatical as follows:

- (12) *Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
Taroo TOP water NOM drink-want

'Taroo wants to drink water.'

- (13) *Taroo wa sabishii.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely

'Taroo feels lonely.'

If we express these sentences by the 'indirect form', they become grammatical:

- (14) Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai YOODA.
 Taroo TOP water NOM drink-want appear

‘It looks as though Taroo wants to drink water.’

- (15) Taroo wa sabishii RASHII.
 Taroo TOP feel.lonely seem

‘It seems that Taroo feels lonely.’

Traditionally, the ungrammaticality of these sentences was explained as follows: one cannot know the other person’s inner condition directly (cf. Teramura 1971, Kinsui 1989). In opposition to this traditional view, Kamio (1990, 1995) argues that the reason for the ungrammaticality of sentences (12) and (13) can be explained by his theory: the information of inner feelings falls within the experiencer’s territory only, and therefore the speaker cannot express the other person’s inner conditions by the ‘direct form’. In other words, sentences (10) and (11) are grammatical since the information falls within the speaker’s territory, whereas (12) and (13) are ungrammatical since the information falls within Taroo’s territory, and not the speaker’s. Therefore, according to Kamio’s theory (1990, 1994, 1995), the restriction of a second and third person subject in Japanese is caused by the pragmatic rule in which one chooses the sentence-final form depending on the territory in which the information falls.

Furthermore, Kamio claims that the core of the theory is near-universal⁵, and he gives the following conditions which are modified slightly for English (Kamio 1995:243):

Conditions

- (a) information obtained through the speaker’s internal direct experience

⁵ In particular, Kamio (1990, 1994, 1995) claims that the theory is also applicable to Chinese and Turkish.

- (b) information embodying detailed knowledge which falls into the speaker’s professional or other expertise
- (c) information obtained through the speaker’s external direct experience including information conveyed to the speaker which he/she considers reliable
- (d) information about persons, objects, events and facts close to the speaker including information about the speaker him/herself

In the case of English, (c) includes ‘information conveyed to the speaker which he/she considers reliable’, which is not included in the case of Japanese. Thus, in English, if a given piece of information has become close to the speaker because it is known to be reliable, it can be expressed by the ‘direct form’. The basic rule of selecting the sentence form in English is as follows (Kamio 1990:41):

The rule of selecting the sentence form in English ⁶

		speaker’s territory	
		in	out
listener’s territory	out	A	D
		direct form	indirect form
	in	B	C
		direct form	indirect form

What the table indicates is that, in English, if information falls into the speaker’s territory, the ‘direct form’ is selected regardless of whether or not the information falls into the listener’s territory. At the same time, if information does not fall into the speaker’s territory, the ‘indirect form’ is chosen regardless of whether or not the information falls into the listener’s territory (Kamio 1990:41). As for the case

⁶ Kamio later gives a revised Table in Kamio (1995); however, I use the original one in Kamio (1990) since it does not involve a theoretical difference to the present analysis.

in English, Kamio gives the following examples for A, B, C, and D, respectively (Kamio 1990:41-46):

(16) A. I feel lonely.

(17) B. It's a beautiful day.

(18) C. You seem to have forgotten that.

(19) D. I hear winter in Quebec is hard.

Sentences (16) and (17) take the 'direct form', and sentences (18) and (19) take the 'indirect form'. According to Kamio, English 'indirect forms' contain what are generally called 'hedges' such as *I guess*, *I believe*, or *I understand*, or hedging adverbs like *maybe* and *apparently* are also counted as 'indirect forms'. Furthermore, expressions such as *somebody told me*, or auxiliary verbs such as *might*, *would*, or *could* are also considered 'indirect forms'.

It has to be noted that the form of utterance in the case of B differs in Japanese and in English, and the difference offers a key to an understanding of the communicative differences between Japanese and English. The point is that in Japanese, when information falls into the speaker's and the listener's territory, the utterance takes the 'direct-*ne* form', whereas in English, the utterance takes the 'direct form'. From this observation, Kamio (1990:47-59) explains the reason why the 'direct form' is relatively rare in Japanese discourse as follows: in Japanese, the 'direct form' is used only in the case of A, where information falls within the speaker's territory only. On the other hand, in English, the 'direct form' can be used in both cases of A and B, where information falls within not only the speaker's but also the listener's territory. For this reason, Kamio concludes that the 'direct form' in Japanese implies that the speaker 'monopolizes information' (1990:50-56), and therefore the 'direct form' is less frequently used in Japanese discourse.

2.2 Truth or Falsehood Judgement

As for the theory of territory of information (Kamio 1979, 1990), Masuoka (1992) argues that the aspect of private territory and the judgement of truth or falsehood have been confused in the theory. Masuoka proposes that the sentence-final form is not selected by the criterion of territory of information, but basically by the speaker's judgement of truth or falsehood. However, when the speaker respects the other person's right to judge about matters falling into their own private territory, the 'indirect form' is selected regardless of the speaker's truth or falsehood judgement. Consider first the following two sentences (Masuoka 1992:32):

- (20) (Boku wa) heya ni kagi o wasure-te ki-ta.
 I TOP room L-D key ACC forget-CONJ come-PAST

'I left a key in the room.'

- (21) (Boku wa) heya ni kagi o wasuretekita RASHII.
 I TOP room L-D key ACC forget-CONJ seem

'It seems that I have left a key in the room.'

The difference in the sentence-final form between the two sentences (20) and (21) depends not on the territory of information, but on the truth or falsehood judgement, which means that if the speaker recognizes the information as true, the 'direct form' is selected, and if not, the 'indirect form' is used. In his own work, Masuoka divides the sentence-final form into the 'decisive form' (Kamio's 'direct form') and the 'decision deferred form' (Kamio's 'indirect form'), and proposes the following rule about private territory which influences the truth or falsehood judgement of a speaker (Masuoka 1992:30, my translation):

The right of truth or falsehood judgement regarding a private territory belongs exclusively to the concerned person. Therefore, regarding a matter which belongs to the person's private territory, the infringement of the person's right by making the truth or falsehood judgement should be avoided.

This rule applies to 'psychological utterances' (Kamio 1994:251) which were mentioned in section 2.1. Consider the following example given by Masuoka (1992:29):

- (22) Ototoo wa geijutsuka ni nari-tai YOODA.
my.brother TOP artist L-D become-want appear

'It seems that my brother wants to be an artist.'

Utterance (22) with the 'indirect form' is a natural sentence in Japanese. On the other hand, even though the speaker recognizes the information as true, the following with the 'direct form' is not accepted (Masuoka 1992:29):

- (23) * Ototoo wa geijutsuka ni naritai yo.
my.brother TOP artist L-D become-want SF

'My brother wants to be an artist.'

The ungrammaticality in (23) is due to the 'pragmatic criterion in which the incursion into another person's private territory should be avoided' (Masuoka 1992:30, my translation). In other words, the impossibility of expressing directly another person's inner condition is due to the pragmatic rule of refraining from incursion into a private territory, not to the 'cognitive rule' of inability to recognize another person's inner condition. Masuoka (1992:31) concludes that the reason why the speaker cannot say sentence (23) is due to the fact that the speaker does not have the 'right to judge' (see also Suzuki 1989).

CHAPTER 3

Analysis of the Theory of Territory of Information

3.0 Introduction

Kamio's and Masuoka's arguments present a pragmatic theory of Japanese evidentiality. To put it briefly, central to the issue is whether or not the information falls into the speaker's territory; or whether or not the speaker has the right to judge. However, opinions are still divergent on the point of selection criteria for sentence-final form; certain linguistic phenomena cannot be explained by the theories of Kamio and Masuoka. In this chapter, I shall reexamine their theories and attempt to show that the standard dual distinction of the speaker's and the listener's territory of information should be revised. Section 3.1 addresses several questions concerning the concept of a person's 'territory', and suggests that there is another factor influencing the choice of the sentence-final form in Japanese; Section 3.2 proposes a new classification of the territory of information which constitutes a basis for our analyses which will be provided in chapter 4.

3.1 Reexamination of Previous Studies

To begin with, I will examine the notion of the 'territory' in Kamio's theory. In Kamio's theory, what is important is the 'closeness' of information to the speaker, and he claims that the notion of 'territory' plays a significant role in selecting the sentence-final form in Japanese. It is questionable, however, whether or not the 'closeness' of information is a major factor in choosing the sentence-final form in Japanese. Let us first focus on the issue of 'closeness' of information. Kamio's

conditions have already been given in section 2.1, but they are reproduced below for convenience:

Conditions

- (a) information obtained through the speaker's internal direct experience
- (b) information embodying detailed knowledge which falls into the speaker's professional or other expertise
- (c) information obtained through the speaker's external direct experience
- (d) information about persons, objects, events and facts close to the speaker including information about the speaker him/herself

Kamio claims that conditions listed above contain information which is 'intuitively 'close' to the speaker'. Therefore, according to his theory, as we saw in section 2.1, utterance (1) below is expressed in the 'direct form' since it conveys information about persons and things which are close to the speaker (Kamio 1994:73):

- (1) Kanai wa 46 desu.
 my.wife TOP 46 is-P

 'My wife is 46 years old.'

If this information were expressed in the 'indirect form', then the utterance would sound strange since it sounds as if the speaker's wife is totally irrelevant to him (Kamio 1994:73):

- (2)?? Kanai wa 46 da SOODESU.
 my.wife TOP 46 is hear-P

 '(Lit.) I hear my wife is 46.'

However, there are many cases where the notion of ‘territory’ does not seem to play a significant role in selecting the sentence-final form in Japanese. Let us first consider the following example:

- (3) Uchi no musuko no gakkoo deno seeseki wa kanari yoi YOODESU.
 my of son GEN school L-D grades TOP pretty good look-P

‘It looks like my son has pretty good grades at school.’

Suppose that the speaker has already seen his son’s academic results, and he knew that his son had good grades at school. On the next day, one of the speaker’s colleagues or superiors happens to ask him how his son is doing. In this situation, (3) sounds perfectly fine with the ‘indirect form’. Although the speaker uses the ‘indirect form’ in conveying his personal information about his son, it does not sound as if the speaker is indifferent to his son, or his son is irrelevant to him. What is important here is that even if the speaker has direct experience, and the information is close to the speaker, it is quite appropriate to choose the ‘indirect form’. Thus, there is room for argument on this point.

The point I would like to make is that it is doubtful whether or not we can explain the criteria for selecting the sentence form only by determining into which territory the information falls. In previous studies such as those of Kamio and Masuoka, the territory of information is divided into only two fields, that is, the speaker and the listener. But consider the following sentence:

- (4) Sensee wa sono toki, kibun o gais-are-ta YOODESU.
 teacher TOP that time feel ACC offend-PASSIVE-PAST appear-P

‘It appears that the teacher felt offended at that time.’

In (4), the speaker is talking about his/her teacher to the listener who does not have the information. If we consider the territory of information as the two fields of the

speaker vs listener, this information is undoubtedly closer to the speaker than the listener. The choice of the 'indirect form' here could be explained by Masuoka's theory. That is, the speaker did not recognize the information as true; so, the 'indirect form' *yoodesu* 'it seems' was selected. Nevertheless, the question remains: does the speaker select the sentence form only by his/her relation to the listener? In other words, it is debatable whether or not the territory of the teacher who has direct relation to the information, has no influence on the criteria for selecting the sentence form. Furthermore, besides the speaker, there might have been other people present when the teacher felt offended. To put it another way, there could be other people who share the same information with the speaker, and it is questionable whether or not the speaker selects the sentence form without considering the territory of those other people. In Kamio's and Masuoka's theory, the territory of the third person has been neglected, and thus they fail to provide a convincing explanation for the criteria for selecting the sentence form.

Before turning to a further examination of the theory, I would like to draw attention to a few exceptions which were added into Kamio's original theory. In Kamio's 1994 work, he introduces the following 'meta-conditions' which supplement the conditions listed above (Kamio 1994:85):

Meta-conditions

- (a) information subject to conditions (b) to (d) (in Conditions listed in p.29) is considered less close if the speaker does not have an adequate basis for asserting it
- (b) information subject to condition (d) may be considered less close when it has just been conveyed to the speaker

What these 'meta-conditions' indicate is that when the speaker does not have an adequate basis, or when information has just been conveyed to the speaker, the information is considered to be out of the speaker's territory, and the 'indirect form'

is chosen. For instance, Kamio (1994:84) gives the following example where information which is based on the speaker's external direct experience can also be expressed in the 'indirect form':

- (5) Kono tsubo wa sukoshi kizu ga arimasu NE.
 this pot TOP a-little flaw NOM exist-P SF

'This pot has a few flaws, doesn't it?'

- (6) Kono tsubo wa sukoshi kizu ga aru YOODESU NE.
 this pot TOP a-little flaw NOM exist look-P SF

'This pot looks as if it has a few flaws.'

This is when a customer in an antique shop takes a pot in his/her hand and notices that there are some flaws on it. Kamio explains that the 'indirect form' in (6) is preferred if he/she wants to be polite. This is because in utterances (5) and (6) above, if the flaws on the pot are so small that the speaker is not sure if they really exist, then his/her external direct experience has an insufficient basis. In this case, the speaker would select the 'indirect form' rather than the 'direct form'.

Although Kamio asserts that the conditions he sets up must be supplemented by 'meta-conditions', a few points remain still unclear: there are many linguistic phenomena which cannot be explained by this revised theory. Consider the following:

- (7) Watashi niwa kono shigoto ga muiteiru MITAIDESU.
 I for this job NOM suitable seem-P

'It seems that this job is suitable for me.'

Suppose that the speaker is a professional who is experienced in his/her job. Despite the fact that the information falls within the speaker's territory, the 'indirect form' is quite natural. In this case, does the 'indirect form' imply that the speaker is lacking in an adequate basis for the assertion? Or does this mean that the speaker did not

consider the information as falling into his/her territory? Kamio claims that if the speaker wants to make his/her utterance softer or polite, then he/she may intentionally violate the principle of the theory and use the ‘indirect form’. However, if the ‘direct form’ is chosen in this case, it does not necessarily become impolite to the listener since the speaker refers to his/her own matter. Then, what kind of rule does influence the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in this case? Kamio’s explanation to support his theory is still unsatisfactory as it excludes the cases where the speaker chooses the ‘indirect form’ regardless of the territory of information.

Let us next consider the subject from a semantic point of view. According to Kamio’s theory, the ‘direct form’ in Japanese signifies a ‘monopoly of information’. Therefore, in the case where the speaker wants to be polite to the listener, the principle of the theory may be violated, and the ‘indirect form’ can be chosen even though information falls into the speaker’s territory. Let us take a closer look at the following minimal pair examples presented by Kamio (1994:83-84):

- (8) Ashita wa ame desu.
tomorrow TOP rain is-P

‘(Lit.) It rains tomorrow.’

- (9) Ashita wa ame DESHOO.
tomorrow TOP rain is-FUTURE-P

‘It will rain tomorrow.’

Kamio explains that (8) expresses an ordinary speaker’s belief; however, it sounds dogmatic, and therefore, to avoid this undesirable effect, the speaker may use the perfectly normal sentence (9), which contains the ‘indirect form’. It is true that when the speaker expresses his/her belief, the ‘indirect form’ is frequently used in Japanese; however, it is open to question whether or not the ‘direct form’ implies the ‘monopoly of information’. Look at the following:

- (10) Tookyoo wa tano toshi to kuraberu to hikakuteki anzenna basho da.
Tokyo TOP other city with compare relatively safe place is

‘Tokyo is a relatively safe place compared with other cities.’

- (11) Kyanbera wa sumi-yasui tokoro da.
Canberra TOP live easy place is

‘Canberra is a nice place to live in.’

Although (10) and (11) express the speaker’s belief about Tokyo and Canberra in the ‘direct form’, they do not sound dogmatic. They do not sound as if the speaker monopolizes the information, and therefore, there is unlikely to be an unfavourable effect on the listener. Therefore, we need to examine the meaning of the ‘direct form’ in Japanese more closely.

Let us next discuss the subject from a different angle. The question which we need to consider is the applicability of the pragmatic rule to the restriction of a subject in a sentence which describes the third person’s inner feelings. According to Kamio and Masuoka, the following ‘psychological utterances’ are ungrammatical, since the information does not fall within the speaker’s territory, or the speaker does not have the right to describe the third person’s inner state directly:

- (12) *Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
Taroo TOP water ACC drink-want

‘Taroo wants to drink water.’

- (13) *Taroo wa sabishii.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely

‘Taroo feels lonely.’

- (14) *Ootoo wa geijutsuka ni naritai yo.
my.brother TOP artist L-D become-want SF

‘My brother wants to be an artist.’

That is to say, the ungrammaticality can be explained by the pragmatic rule in which the speaker avoids intruding into the other person's private territory.

It has been observed, however, that if the sentence takes the '*noda* form', it becomes grammatical (cf. Teramura 1971, Aoki 1986, Kamio 1990):

- (15) Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai NODA¹.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink it.is.that

'(It is that) Taroo wants to drink water.'

- (16) Taroo wa sabishii NODA.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely it.is.that

'(It is that) Taroo feels lonely.'

- (17) Ootoo wa geijutsuka ni naritai NODA.
my.brother TOP artist L-D become-want it.is.that

'(It is that) my brother wants to be an artist.'

Note that although the information does not fall within the speaker's territory, and the speaker does not have the right to describe it directly, it is possible to refer to the third person's inner condition directly by the '*noda* form'. Therefore, the syntactic rule and pragmatic rule have been confused in these previous studies.

Let us next focus on the subject from Masuoka's point of view. Following Masuoka's theory of truth or falsehood judgement, the sentence form is decided by whether the speaker is certain about the fact or not, except in the case where the speaker respects the other person's right to make a truth or falsehood judgement regarding the person's private territory. Masuoka's rule of truth or falsehood judgement is reasonable since it can explain several cases which Kamio's theory cannot cover. However, Masuoka's rule stating that 'the right of truth or falsehood

¹ As for the meaning of *noda*, it is generally translated as 'it is a fact that' (Aoki 1986), or 'it is that' (McGloin 1989). I will discuss this issue later in 5.3.

judgement regarding a private territory belongs exclusively to the concerned person' should be reconsidered. According to this rule, if a person has 'the right to judge', the 'direct form' is selected. However, what Masuoka discusses is only another person's private territory, and thus this rule cannot explain the speaker's private territory. To put it another way, the relationship between the speaker's private territory and 'the right to judge' is unclear. For example, how can the following sentences be explained?

- (18) Minasama no tame ni gambaritai TO OMOI-MASU.
all.of.you GEN for.the.sake.of want-do one's best COMPL I.think-P

'(Lit.) I think I want to do my best for you.'

- (19) Watashi ga kono yo de ichiban sukina basho wa daidokoro da TO OMOU.
I NOM this world L-D best favourite place TOP kitchen is COMPL I.think

'(Lit.) I think the place I like best in this world is the kitchen.'

(Yoshimoto 1988:6)

In sentence (18) a mayor is describing his hope, and in (19) a writer is stating that she likes the kitchen best in the world. Since these personal hopes or tastes are clearly within the speaker's territory, and the speaker has surely 'the right to judge'. However, the 'indirect forms' rather than the 'direct forms' (i.e. *Minasama no tameni gambaritai desu* or *Watashi ga konoyo de ichiban sukina basho wa daidokoro da*) are used in these cases, and this cannot be explained by the truth or falsehood judgement or 'the right to judge'. In short, Masuoka's rule is still unsatisfactory to explain the criteria of selecting the sentence form, and other factors influence these situations.

Finally, let us consider the matter from a cross-cultural point of view. Kamio (1990, 1995) has argued that the core of his theory is near-universal, and can also be applied to the case of English. However, if we contrast sentence forms in Japanese and English in greater detail, it is not difficult to find that the theory is violated in Japanese, whereas in English, the theory applies. In other words, there are various

examples where a different rule governs in these two languages in the same context, and this is the case where Japanese discourse is characterized as ‘indirect’ or ‘ambiguous’, while English discourse is described as ‘direct’ or ‘clear’. Consider the following sentences which were translated from Japanese into English in published works:

(20)a. “Ie niwa kaera-nain desu ka ?”

“Ano ko wa jimusho ga kini itte orun desu. Kicchin mo arushi, shawaa mo arushi, futsuu ni kurashi-te iku bun niwa shishoo wa nain desu. Ie ni kaeru no wa seizee shuu ni ikkai to iu tokoro **DESHOO**.”

(Murakami 1988:84)

b. “Doesn’t she go home?”

“The child likes the office. It’s got a kitchen and a shower, everything she needs. At most she goes home once a week.”

(Translated by A. Birnbaum 1988:48)

(21)a. “Datte, jissaini kimi nara are o otoo-san tte yoberu?”

Kare wa ochitsuite soo it-ta. Sore wa, hontooni soo omoe-ta. Sugoku nattoku no iku kotae da.

“Eriko tte, namae wa?”

“Uso. Hontoo wa Yuji tte iu **MITAI**.”

(Yoshimoto 1988a:21)

b. “Yes, but. Could you call someone who looked like that ‘Dad’?” he asked calmly. He has a point, I thought. An extremely good answer.

“What about the name Eriko?”

“It’s actually Yuji.”

(Translated by M. Backus 1988:13)

(22)a. “Tsukiai ga isogashii na, nen ni hitori ga ikkai toshite mo.” to Shibukawa ga iu to, Chie ga unazui-te,

“Kai ni sasow-are-tari, opera ya shibai no kippu o itadai-tari, sooiu koto **RASHII NO**.”

(Maruya 1993:60)

b. “She must be kept pretty busy anyway, even if she only meets each of them once a year,” said Shibukawa, and Chie agreed.

“Invitations to parties and so on, tickets to the theatre and opera, things like that.”

(Translated by D. Keene 1993:49)

What is common to these examples is that the speaker is referring to matters concerning his/her family member: in (20), the speaker is giving the information to the listener about his grand-daughter, saying that 'at most she goes home once a week'; in (21), the speaker is talking about his father, saying that 'his actual name is Yuji'; and in (22) the speaker is referring to her mother, saying that 'she receives a lot of invitations to parties or to theatres'. According to Kamio's theory, since information concerning a family member is close to the speaker, not to the listener, it definitely falls within the speaker's territory, and therefore, the 'direct form' has to be selected. If we look at the English translation, the 'direct form' is selected in each example, showing that the theory applies in these cases to English. However, the Japanese examples, where the 'indirect form' is chosen, raise the question as to what extent Kamio's and Masuoka's theory are applicable, and whether there is any other factor influencing the choice of the sentence form.

3.2 A New Classification of the Territory of Information

In this section, I would like to propose a new categorization of the territory of information. In previous studies concerning the territory of information and the sentence form, what was mainly treated was the information analysed from the view of the speaker vs the listener, and the issue has always been into which territory the information falls. It is doubtful, however, whether the rules for selecting the sentence form can be discovered by dividing the territory of information into only two categories. We should not overlook third person territory, being that of a third person who shares information with the speaker.

The examples which we have dealt with so far concern personal information which falls not only into the speaker's, but also into a specific third person's

territory. The same observation applies to general topics which other ordinary people have in common. Consider the following:

- (23) Nihon de wa wakai josee no kitsuensha ga fue-te-iru
 Japan L-D TOP young female GEN smoker NOM increase-CONJ-PROG

YOODESU

Appear-P

‘It appears the number of young female smokers is increasing in Japan.’

In (23), the speaker refers to a general issue about the number of female smokers in Japan. Suppose that the speaker mentions this topic in a public place such as on television. In this case, there are innumerable people who have information about the issue besides the speaker, and while some of the listeners might be more familiar with the topic than the speaker, some of them might be not. In short, the territory of information cannot be divided into the two fields of speaker *vs* listener, and we need to add another category of general third persons who share the information with the speaker. We may, therefore, conclude that the dual view of speaker *vs* listener is insufficient to investigate the pragmatic rules which govern the choice of the sentence form.

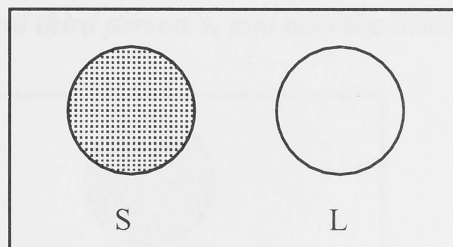
Thus when we consider the criteria for selecting the sentence form from this viewpoint, it is necessary to distinguish the situation when only the speaker has the information and when a special third person shares it, and the situation where the information concerns a private matter and where it concerns a general matter which falls within the public territory². Theoretically, we can reorganize the territory of information into the following six groups:

² ‘Public territory’ is an opposite concept of private territory, and I define it here as ‘information territory which an addresser shares socially and culturally with an addressee and the general third person’.

- (1) the speaker's territory
- (2) the speaker's and a specific third person's territory
- (3) the speaker's, the general third person's, and also the listener's territory
- (4) the speaker's and the listener's territory
- (5) the listener's territory
- (6) the other people's territory

Below, I will briefly illustrate each case. (The abbreviated letters represent the following categories: S = speaker; L = listener; STP = specific third person; GTP = general third person. A shaded circle indicates that information falls into the territory, and an unshaded circle shows that information does not fall into the territory.)

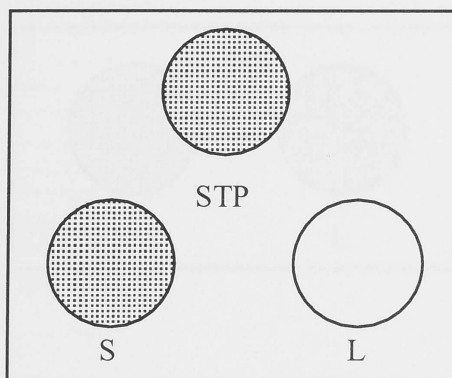
The speaker's territory



As illustrated above, this case involves a situation where the utterance contains information which falls exclusively into the speaker's territory. A typical example is:

- (24) Watashi ga kono yo de ichiban sukina basho wa daidokoro da.
 I NOM this world L-D best favourite place TOP kitchen is
 'The place I like best in this world is the kitchen.'

The speaker's and a specific third person's territory

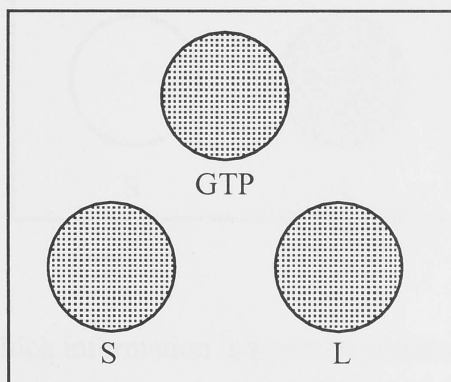


This is a case where a speaker conveys information which falls into the speaker's and also a specific third person's territory, as shown in (25):

- (25) Sensee wa sono toki, kibun o gais-are-ta YOODESU.
 teacher TOP that time feel ACC offend-PASSIVE-PAST appear-P

‘It appears that the teacher felt offended at that time.’

The speaker's, the general third person's, and also the listener's territory

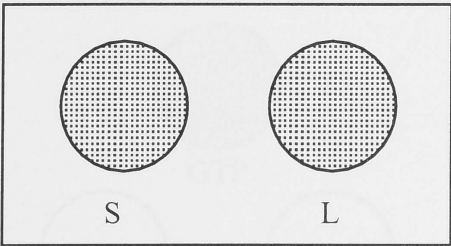


In this case, information falls into the speaker's, the listener's and also the general third person's territory. The example is below:

- (26) Zeisee-kaikaku o sookyuuni okonau hitsuyoo ga aru.
 tax system reform ACC immediately do necessity NOM there is

‘We have to reform the tax system immediately.’

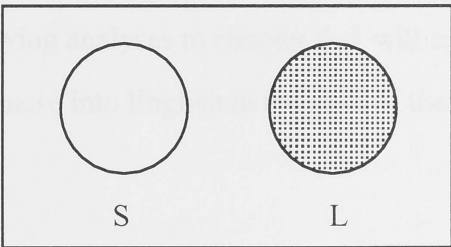
The speaker's and the listener's territory



This is a case where a speaker assumes that information falls into the speaker's and the listener's territory. A typical example is observed in (27):

- (27) Ii tenki da ne.
fine weather is SF
‘It’s a beautiful day, isn’t it?’

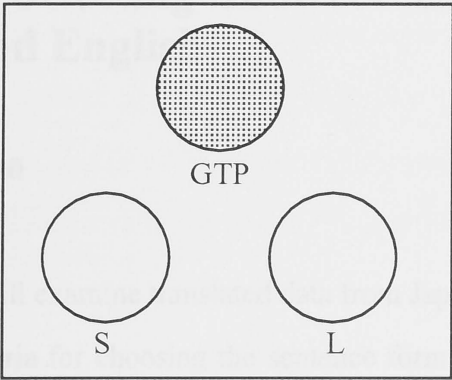
The listener's territory



This is a case in which information is a private matter concerning the listener only. An example is illustrated in (28):

- (28) Sukoshi yase-ta MITAI NE.
little lose.weight-PAST appear SF
‘It appears that you’ve lost some weight, haven’t you?’

The other people’s territory



This situation involves a case where information does not fall within the speaker’s and the listener’s territory, but other people’s territory, as illustrated below:

(29) Soori-daijin ga yameru RASHII.
 prime minister NOM resign seem

‘It seems that the prime minister will resign.’

In the following analyses in chapter 4, I will examine translated and published materials from Japanese into English in the light of these classifications.

CHAPTER 4

Criteria for Selecting ‘Indirect’ Expressions in Japanese and English

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine translated data from Japanese into English, and attempt to explain the criteria for choosing the sentence form in both languages. As noted in chapter 2, in previous studies, the issue has been whether or not information falls into the speaker’s territory, or the speaker is certain about the fact. It was pointed out that this speaker vs listener based approach fails to explain the criteria for choosing the sentence form in Japanese, and I introduced the third person’s territory into our analyses. In this chapter, I will focus on the cases where other people share information with the speaker, and demonstrate that a factor —‘what other people might think’— influences the choice of the sentence form in Japanese, which offers the key to an understanding of pragmatic differences between these two languages.

Section 4.1 presents data of translated texts from Japanese into English, and shows how the ‘indirect form’ is rendered into English. Section 4.2 analyses the conversational texts and demonstrates that different criteria govern the choice of the sentence form in these two languages. Cultural scripts will be given to explain the differences.

4.1 Data

In this study, I have used 20 works of modern Japanese literature and essays for the analyses of conversational texts, and 6 essays for the analyses of written texts. I collected the ‘indirect forms’ in Japanese and compared how they are rendered into English. The results are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1

	Japanese indirect forms	English indirect forms	English direct forms
conversational text	1130	864	266
written text	1131	558	573

As shown in Table 1, in the data, out of 1130 ‘indirect form’ sentences, 266 sentences were translated into the ‘direct form’ in conversational texts, and out of 1131 ‘indirect form’ sentences, 573 sentences were translated into the ‘direct form’ in written texts. To begin with, in the following section 4.2, I will confine our attention to conversational texts, and provide explications for the criteria of choosing the sentence form in each language.

4.2 Analyses of Conversational Texts: Basic rules

To start with, let us present in a more detailed form the results from the analysis of conversational texts. Table 2 below summarizes the results:

Table 2: Conversational texts (20 books)¹

Japanese indirect expressions	English indirect forms	English direct forms	Total
<i>daroo</i> ‘probably’	215	71	286
<i>to omou</i> ‘I think’	164	36	200
<i>kamoshirenai</i> ‘perhaps’	184	15	199
<i>yoodearu/desu</i> ‘it appears’	62	45	107
<i>rashii</i> ‘seems’	71	30	101
<i>sooda/desu</i> ‘they say’	58	25	83
<i>mitai</i> ‘it looks’	44	25	69
<i>ki ga suru</i> ‘I feel’	34	4	38
<i>hazuda</i> ‘it should be’	18	9	27
<i>nichigainai</i> ‘it must be’	9	1	10
<i>to mo ieru</i> ‘one may also say’	1	4	5
<i>to omoeru</i> ‘one can think’	2	1	3
others	2	0	2
Total	864	266	1130

Before turning to a closer examination, in this section, I would like to remark upon a few points concerning the basic rules which are common to Japanese and English. As Table 2 shows, out of 1130 ‘indirect form’ sentences in the Japanese original data, 864 sentences were translated similarly into the ‘indirect form’ in English. Let us first consider the following:

- (1)a. “Shikashi senzen no kare no ryakureki nitsuite wa aruteido no koto wa wakat-te iru. 1913nen ni Hokkaidoo de umare, shoogakko o deru to Tookyoo ni de-te tentento shoku o kae, uyoku ni nat-ta. Ichidodake keimusho ni hait-ta **TO OMOU**. Keimusho o dete Manshoo ni utsuri”
(Murakami 1985:95)
- b. “But we do know something of the man’s prewar background. He was born in Hokkaido in 1913, came to Tokyo after graduating from normal school, changed jobs repeatedly, and drifted to the right. He was imprisoned once, **I BELIEVE**. Upon his release, he was sent to Manchuria,.....”
(Translated by A. Birnbaum 1985:57)

¹ ‘Others’ include the expression which was used once.

In this situation, the speaker gives information about a man's background to the listener who does not have the information. In Japanese, as a result of the speaker's inability to be certain of the fact, the 'indirect form' *to omou* is used, while also in English, the 'indirect form' *I believe* is selected. This shows the speaker's doubtful recognition of whether the man was once imprisoned or not, and also in English the 'indirect form' conveys the speaker's impossibility of giving definite information. That is to say, in both languages, it was judged that the 'indirect form' should be selected, and this is a case where there is correspondence in communication attitude in both languages.

This basic rule in both languages can be explained by Grice's Cooperative Principle, the Maxim of Quality (Grice 1975:46):

Try to make your contribution one that is true:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

To put it plainly, in order to be cooperative in the conversation, the speaker is expected to give information of which he/she is sure. This is because there is a time when the sentence form is important to listeners. When it is important, the information is the theme of the conversation, or the truth of the fact will influence listeners' judgements or future actions. For example, suppose the case where police investigate suspect *A* for murder, and a person who saw *A* on the day testifies about the time. If the person is not certain about the exact time of seeing *A*, he/she would say (2), in the 'indirect form':

(2) Watashi ga A o mita no wa jimusho o de-ta ato,
I NOM A ACC see-PAST NOML TOP office ACC leave-PAST after

juuichi-ji dat-ta to OMOI-MASU
11-o'clock is-PAST COMPL I.think+P

‘The time when I saw *A* on the day was, I THINK, eleven at night, after I left the office.’

In this case, if the time of seeing *A* is very significant for *A*’s alibi, and concerns whether or not *A* is convicted as a murderer or not, the exact time becomes important information. Therefore, if the witness is not sure of the time, he cannot use the ‘direct form’ saying, ‘The time when I saw *A* on the day was eleven at night’; he/she has to show that there are other possibilities, using the ‘indirect form’ *I think* or other similar expressions.

In the case of (1), since the question whether or not one person was imprisoned is relatively significant to the listener, the speaker cannot convey the information in the ‘direct form’ unless he/she is sure. Viewed in this light, we can clearly see that the selection of sentence form is decided basically by the degree of certainty of the speaker, and there is no great difference between Japanese and English in this respect.

Similarly, when the speaker is simply guessing about the fact from the surrounding situation, the ‘indirect form’ is chosen both in Japanese and English. Let us next look into the following:

(3)a. “Taihenna toki ni, Indo ni ki-mashi-ta ne.”

“Ee, demo jijoo ga sappari wakaranai-n-desu.”

“Nyuu Derii dewa achikochi de boodoo ga okotteiru **YOODESU**.”

(Endo 1993:293)

b. “You’ve come to India at a frightening time.”

“Yes, but I don’t understand anything that’s going on.”

“A number of riots SEEM to have broken out in New Delhi.”

(Translated by V. C. Gessel 1993:182)

(4)a. “Dooka shi-ta no?” to kanojo ga tazune-ta.

“Atarashii suigara o mitsuke-ta-nda” to boku wa it-ta. “Tsui saikin dareka ga kokoni suwat-te boku to onaji yooni tabako o suttei-ta **RASHII NE**.”

(Murakami 1985:2-124)

b. “What is it?” she asked.

“I found a fresh cigarette butt, so somebody **MUST HAVE BEEN** sitting here having a smoke like me not too long ago.”

(Translated by A. Birnbaum 1985:235)

In (3) and (4), the speaker is simply guessing that ‘riots have broken out’ or ‘there were someone who was smoking’ based on his supposition. In this case also, the indirect expression is necessary in both languages in order to show that the speaker lacks adequate evidence and is not sure of the fact.

One final point is when the speaker wants to be polite in saying something bad about the listener. As Wierzbicka (1991:92) mentions, ‘Anglo-American tradition encourages people to say *I don’t think so* rather than *you are wrong*’. In other words, when the speaker says something bad about the listener, the indirect expression is frequently used in English, and there is no great difference from Japanese in this case, as illustrated in the following:

(5)a. “Boku niwa kankee nai na” to watashi wa it-ta. “Boku no yoona mattan wa ari no yoo ni hataraku dake da. Sono hoka niwa nanimo kangae nai. Dakara moshi kimi-tachi ga boku o nakama ni kuwae-tai to omot-te koko ni kita no nara ...”
 “Anta wa wakat-te-nai **YOODA NA**.” to chibi wa shitauchi shite it-ta.
 (Murakami 1988:235)

b. “Why me?” I said. “I’m just a terminal worker ant. I don’t think about anything but my own work. So if you’re thinking of enlisting me.”
 “You don’t **SEEM** to get the picture.” said Junior, with a click of his tongue.
 (Translated by A. Birnbaum:1988:137)

(6)a. “Atashi no namae wa, Inuzuka Nobuko yo.”
 Komazawa wa shibaraku kubi o kashigete ita ga, yagate it-ta.
 “Kii-ta koto no nai onamae da. Uchino zasshi de imamade kiji ni shi-ta koto mo, korekara toriageru yotee mo arimasen. Nanika no gokai **DESHOO**.”
 (Shinichi Hoshi 1972:96)

b. “My name is Nobuko Inuzuka.”

Komazawa was puzzled for a moment, then he said, “I’ve never heard the name before. There hasn’t been an article about you in the magazine, nor are there any plans for one. **PERHAPS** there’s some mistake.”

(Translated by S.H.Jones 1984:91)

In (5), if the speaker says in the ‘direct form’, ‘*Anta wa wakat-te nai*’ (You don’t get the picture), and in (6), ‘*Nanika no gokai desu*’ (There’s some mistake), this would sound impolite in a sense that the speaker is directly threatening the listener’s ‘face’ (Brown and Levinson 1978). Broadly speaking, in both languages, direct confrontation is avoided in order to keep social harmony, and we may consider that this is a common cultural rule manifested in the sentence form in these two languages.

So far, we have seen the correspondences of the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in Japanese and English in the following cases: 1. When the speaker does not have adequate evidence for the information, especially in a situation where the sentence form makes a significant difference to the listener. 2. When the speaker is simply guessing the fact from the surrounding situation. 3. When the speaker wants to be polite to the listener in saying something bad about the listener. These three cases are covered within Kamio’s and Masuoka’s theories: the information does not fall into the speaker’s territory, or the speaker does not recognize the information as true. Besides these three cases, however, the ‘indirect form’ is more frequently selected in Japanese, and there are many cases which cannot be explained by their theories. In the following section, I focus on this issue, and demonstrate how different pragmatic rules govern in Japanese compared with English discourse.

4.3 Japanese Cultural Scripts

In this section 4.3, I will focus on the different communicative styles which are observed in the sentence form, and attempt to provide cultural scripts which explain

the rules by means of the NSM theory. In 4.3.1, we shall start with the case where information falls into the speaker's territory only; 4.3.2 deals with the case where information is shared with other people; 4.3.3 focuses on the case where information falls into the speaker's, listener's and other people's territory; 4.3.4 concerns the case where the speaker refers to the information which is shared with the listener only; 4.3.5 deals with the case where information falls exclusively into the listener's territory; and 4.3.6 finishes with the case where information does not fall into the speaker's or listener's territory.

4.3.1 When information falls exclusively into the speaker's territory

In this section I will begin by considering the case where information concerns the speaker only. This is the case where there exists a real relation of 'speaker vs listener'. Observe the following examples where there is a difference in communicative style in these two languages:

(7)a. "Um"

Yoshikawa wa sukoshi harema no mie-te ki-ta sora o minagara, unazui-ta.

"Araizarai o iu to ne, boku wa san-nen mae, seichoo shita Fujiko-san ni at-ta toki, hitomebore o shi-ta YOONANDA. Sorede Fujiko-san no konyaku no hanashi o kii-ta toki wa, totemo sabishikat-ta."

(Miura 1973:243)

b. "Hmm !" Yoshikawa nodded, looking at a break in the clouds outside.

"I'll not hide anything from you. When I met Fujiko in Tokyo three years ago, when she had grown up, it was a case of love at first sight. Then when I heard about her engagement I felt very lonely..."

(Translated by B. & S. Fearnough 1973:177)

(8)a. Kondo no geshuku wa, kokokara ichijikan mo kakaru shitamachi no gakusee geshuku ni ke no haeta yoona mono de, nyonin-kinsee ga keiyaku-jookoo no daiichijoo da to, Ryoota wa kao ni sukoshi hinikuna hohoemi o ukabe-te it-ta.

"Boku wa machigat-te i-ta YOODA."

(Setouchi 1966:117)

- b. Although the room was only slightly better than student lodging, he was satisfied with it. And the first clause of the renter's agreement, he emphasized, prohibited women from visiting the room.

"I was wrong," he apologized.

(Translated by J. Beichman 1966:88)

- (9)a. "Hindu-kyooto ni totte sagan wa fujoi to iu imeegi ga aru tame da soo desu ga, sono sagan ni it-ta koto ga aru n desu."

"Sore de ..."

"Shizen no motsu bukimina hiwai o arehodo kanji-ta basho wa hoka ni nai
DESHOO."

(Endo 1993:210)

- b. "To the Hindus, as I understand it, the left bank conjures up images of uncleanness. I've been to that left bank."

"And?"

"I've never been anywhere where I've felt more strongly the ghastly vulgarity of nature."

(Translated by V. C. Gessel 1993:133)

In (7), the speaker tells of his feeling toward Fujiko, and in (8), the speaker admits his fault, and in (9), the speaker talks about his experience. In the original Japanese, in each example, an indirect expression (*yoonanda* 'it appears', *youdesu*, the polite form of *yooda*, and *deshoo*, the polite form of *daroo* 'probably') is selected, whereas in English, the indirect expression is omitted and the information is conveyed in the 'direct form'. Let us briefly look into each context. It is obvious that these are not cases where the sentence form makes a significant difference to the listener. In each case, information is obtained through the speaker's internal/external direct experience, and if the speaker uses the 'direct form', this does not influence the listener's future action or knowledge. Furthermore, these are not cases where the speaker has to show respect to the listener; the speaker refers to himself/herself only, and the 'direct form' does not sound impolite to the listener. In other words, it is not necessary to choose the 'indirect form' in these contexts. However, a different sentence form is selected in

each language, and this leads us to the question what kind of rule is governing the choice of the sentence form in these cases.

The choice of the sentence form can be explained by the different cultural attitude of expressing the speaker's own thoughts in these two languages. As Wierzbicka (1991a, 1991b, 1997a) points out, in Anglo culture, it is generally taken for granted that personal thoughts can be freely expressed, and it is good to express them to other people. On the other hand, in the case of Japanese, general cultural attitudes discourage one from revealing his/her own thoughts to other people. Therefore, the 'indirect form' is chosen, in order to avoid the clear expression of his/her own thoughts. A cultural script for selecting the sentence form in this case in both languages will be portrayed roughly:

When information falls exclusively into the speaker's territory:

English

when I think something (X) about me
I can say it to another person
I don't have to say something else about it

Japanese

when I think something (X) about me
I can't say it to another person
I will say something else about it because of this

Thus we see that in the case of expressing personal thoughts, the sentence form is influenced by the cultural value, and this observation is now widely accepted by many scholars (Wierzbicka 1991a, 1991b, 1997a; Doi 1985a, 1985b; Suzuki 1986; Barnlund 1975). However, the tendency to avoid the 'direct form' becomes more obvious when other people share the information with the speaker. In the next section, I will focus on the case where a specific third person shares information with

the speaker, and propose that a consideration for possible disagreement of other people plays an significant role in determining the sentence form in Japanese.

4.3.2 *When information falls into the speaker's and a specific third person's territory*

This is the case where information falls within not only the speaker's but also a specific third person's territory, while the listener does not have the information. In section 4.3.1, we observed that the 'indirect form' is selected in Japanese in order to avoid a clear expression of personal thoughts. The same attitude appears in the case where a third person shares the information with the speaker. Let us observe the following:

- (10)a. "Enami san wa, dooshite Indo ni ryuugaku shi-ta n desu."

"Kekkyoku wa, hore-ta kara desu yo. Indo wa ichido kuru to, tetteitekini kiraini naru okyaku-sama to nandomo ki-tai to ossharu okyaku-sama ni waka-reru YOODESU. Watashi nado koosha no ningen de ..."

(Endo 1993:169)

- b. "Why did you come to India to study, Mr Enami?"

"In the end, I suppose, because I fell in love with it. Some tourists absolutely despise the place after only one visit, but then there are those who say they want to come back over and over again. I'm one of the latter."

(Translated by Van C. Gessel 1993:106)

- (11)a. "Nande shooka. Nanika wasuremono desu ka?"

"Soo dewa ari-masen. Watashi ga koshi-ta ato, sochira de nanika, kawatta koto ga at-ta ka dooka o shiri-tai no desu."

"Saa, betsuni nai YOODESU NE."

(Hoshi 1972:27)

- b. "Oh, what is it? Have you forgotten something?"

"No, it's nothing like that. I just wondered if anything unusual had happened since I left."

"No, nothing special."

(Translated by R. Matthew 1972:21)

In (10), a tour guide refers to the attitudes of tourists generally in India, and in (11), a landlady responds to whether or not something happened after the man left. In each example, the 'indirect form' is selected in the original Japanese, whereas it is translated into the 'direct form' in English, and we see that the different cultural rules govern the choice of the sentence form in these languages. In the case of English, the 'direct form' is selected probably because information concerns the speaker's professional or other expertise, and the speaker is sure about the fact. Then, why was the 'indirect form' chosen in Japanese?

The most likely explanation for the choice of the 'indirect form' in Japanese is that the speaker also takes into account of the possibility that his/her judgement could be incorrect. To explain the criterion more plainly, Grice's Cooperative Principle (Grice 1975:46) may be helpful: the Maxim of Manner ('1. Avoid obscurity of expression. 2. Avoid ambiguity') has a priority in English in these cases, whereas the Maxim of Quality ('Try to make your contribution one that is true') has a priority in Japanese. In other words, even though the information falls into the speaker's territory, his/her understanding could be incorrect. Let us take an example of (10). In (10), the speaker might be sure of the fact that 'some tourists absolutely despise the place after only one visit, but then there are those who say they want to come back over and over again'; however, precisely speaking, the speaker does not know if his judgement is accurate, and there is also a possibility that his understanding could be wrong. Therefore, the 'indirect form' is chosen, taking into account a case in which the information is incorrect.

The point is that in Japanese, the important thing in conveying information is to acknowledge the fact that the speaker could be wrong to the listener, rather than to 'avoid obscurity/ambiguity', and whether or not the information falls into his/her territory is not a main factor in selecting the sentence form. The question then arises: why in Japanese does the speaker tend to suggest that he/she might be incorrect in

giving information, even though the accuracy is not significant to the listener? To put it another way, why doesn't the principle of 'avoiding ambiguity/obscurity' apply to the case of Japanese?

Let me propose a following hypothesis which explains the choice of the 'indirect form' in Japanese: what influences the choice of the sentence form in Japanese is 'whether or not other people might think the same about it'. That is to say, even though the information falls within the speaker's territory, the same information is shared by other people, and the speaker does not know what these people might think. In (10), for example, there are other tour guides who are familiar with India, and these guides may not necessarily understand these facts identically to the speaker. Similarly, in (11), there are other neighbors who live in the area, and these residents of the area might know that something happened after the man left. Although the speaker in both examples might be sure about tourists in India or about the area, other tour guides or neighbors also share the same information, and the speaker does not know what these people would think. If the speaker's understanding is different from that of those other people, the information which was conveyed in the 'direct form' would be seen as false by these people. Therefore, the speaker chooses the 'indirect form', taking into account the possibility that his/her understanding may be different from that of those other people who share the information. Thus what governs the choice of the sentence form in Japanese is the speaker's consideration for 'what other people might think about it'.

Let us give further examples to test the hypothesis above. Observe the following:

(12)a. Shigo kanojo no nikki ga mitsukari-mashi-te ne." to Kanzaki wa it-ta.
 "Soko ni wa mainichi, Nakada e no omoi ga menmen to tsuzut-te at-ta soodesu yo."

"Nakada e no omoi?"

"Ee. Hitomebore doozen ni koi shi-te shimat-ta RASHII DESU NE. Demo, sore o doo arawashi-te iika wakaranakat-ta."

(Akagawa 1983:52)

b. “After she died,” Kanzaki said, “we found her diary. Everyday she had written continuously of her feelings for Nakada.”

“Her feelings for Nakada?”

“Yes, she had fallen in love with him at first sight, but she didn’t know how to tell him.”

(Translated by G. Few 1983:44)

(13)a. Ippoo Otake-fujin wa, taikyokushitsu e wa kesshite sugata o misenu ga, jitto shite ir-are-nu rashiku, rooka ni tat-tari arui-tari, tootoo omoi amat-te ka, sewanin no heya e hait-te kuruto,

“Otake ga mada kangae-te-iru node gozaimashoo ka?”

“Ee, muzukashii tokoro **RASHII DESU NE.**”

(Kawabata 1962:21)

b. Mrs. Otake has never come into the room during play. Today she was in the hall, now standing still, now walking up and down. Finally, the suspense too much for her, it seemed, she went into the manager’s office.

“Otake is still thinking about his next play?”

“Yes. It’s a difficult moment.”

(Translated by E. G. Seidensticker 1962:26)

In (12), the speaker is telling the listener that ‘the woman fell in love with Nakada at first sight’, and in (13), a manager comments on what is going on in a match of *igo* (Japanese chess). Notice that the speakers in both examples have direct experience concerning the information: the speaker in (12) saw the woman’s diary, and the speaker in (13) watched the match of *igo*. In English translation, the ‘direct form’ is selected, and it is reasonable to assume that in the case of English, the speaker can choose the ‘direct form’ as long as he/she is certain. In the original Japanese, however, the ‘indirect form’ is chosen, suggesting that the same rule does not apply to the case of Japanese.

Let us apply our assumption to these cases. In both examples, the speaker might be certain about the fact; however, the speaker does not know if his/her understanding is the same as that of the woman or the player, and there is also a possibility that these people might think differently from the speaker. If the speaker

chose the ‘direct form’ and these people think differently, the information would be considered incorrect by these people. Therefore, the speaker selects the ‘indirect form’ in order to show consideration for the point of view of a third person, who shares the information with the speaker. In Japanese, the main criterion is not the territory of information, or the speaker’s truth/falsehood judgement, but ‘how other people who share information understand the matter’.

Our hypothesis can explain the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in the examples which were given in chapter 2. Recall the following cases where the speaker is referring to matters concerning his/her family member:

- (14)a. “*Te niwa kaera-nai n desu ka?*”

“*Ano ko wa jimusho ga kini it-te oru n desu. Kicchin mo aru shi, shawaa mo arushi, futsuu ni kurashi-te iku bun ni wa shishoo wa nai n desu. Ie ni kaeru no wa seezee shuu ni ikkai to iu tokoro **DESHOO.***”

(Murakami 1988:84)

- b. “Doesn’t she go home?”

“The child likes the office. It’s got a kitchen and a shower, everything she needs. At most she goes home once a week.”

(Translated by A. Birnbaum 1988:48)

- (15)a. “*Datte, jissaini kimi nara are o otoo-san tte yoberu?*”

Kare wa ochitsuite soo it-ta. Sore wa, hontooni soo omoe-ta. Sugoku nattoku no iku kotae da.

“*Eriko tte, namae wa?*”

“*Uso. Hontoo wa Yuji tte iu **MITAI.***”

(Yoshimoto 1988a:21)

- b. “Yes, but. Could you call someone who looked like that ‘Dad’?” he asked calmly. He has a point, I thought. An extremely good answer.

“What about the name Eriko?”

“It’s actually Yuji.”

(Translated by M. Backus 1988:13)

- (16)a. “*Tsukiai ga isogashii na, nen ni hitori ga ikkai toshite mo.*” to Shibukawa ga iu to, Chie ga unazui-te,

“*Kai ni saso-ware-tari, opera ya shibai no kippu o itadai-tari, sooyuu koto **RASHII NO.***”

(Maruya 1993:60)

- b. “She must be kept pretty busy anyway, even if she only meets each of them once a year,” said Shibukawa, and Chie agreed.

“Invitations to parties and so on, tickets to the theatre and opera, things like that.”

(Translated by D. Keene 1993:49)

In these examples also, the information concerning a family member is close to the speaker, and the speaker might be certain about a matter concerning this person; however, these family members also share the same information, and the speaker does not know what these family members might think: they may not necessarily understand these facts identically to the speaker. Therefore, the speaker chooses the ‘indirect form’ implying ‘I might be wrong’, considering the possibility that the third person thinks differently. Viewed in this light, we can propose a cultural script which governs the choice of the ‘indirect form’ for this case in Japanese as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when information falls into the speaker’s and a specific third person’s territory:

Japanese

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about someone (A)’
- (b) when I want to say something about this to another person (B)
- (c) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (d) if I say what I think (X)
- (e) if this person (A) doesn’t think the same,
- (f) this person (A) could feel something bad
- (g) I don’t want this
- (h) because of this, it will be good if I don’t say what I think (X) like this:
‘I say: X’
- (i) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

Components (a) and (b) of this script explain the case where a speaker conveys information which falls into his/her territory and also into a specific third person’s territory. Component (c) indicates that the speaker considers ‘how to say it’ before making an utterance. In component (d), ‘I say what I think’ implies that the speaker

conveys information in a definite way, namely, by the ‘direct form’. Components (e), (f) and (g) represent that the speaker considers the case where the person who shares the information does not think the same as the speaker. Components (h) and (i) indicate that the speaker decides to avoid the ‘direct form’, and chooses the ‘indirect form’ as a result of consideration.

On the other hand, as we have seen, in the case of English, the speaker may choose the ‘direct form’ basically according to his/her cognition, except the case of making the listener feel bad; and ‘what other people might think’ does not influence the choice of the sentence form. A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ for this case in English would be represented as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when information falls into the speaker’s and a specific third person’s territory:

English

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about someone (A)’
- (b) when I want to say something about this to another person (B)
- (c) I can say what I think (X) to this person (B)
- (d) if I know this person (B) will not feel something bad because of this
- (e) I don’t have to say something else about it

Components (a) and (b) of this script refer to the case where a speaker conveys information which falls into his/her territory and also into a specific third person’s territory. Components (c) and (d) represent that in English, the speaker can freely choose the ‘direct form’ in conveying the information to another person as long as the utterance does not make the listener feel bad. Component (e) indicates that the speaker does not have to choose the ‘indirect form’ in this case.

4.3.3 *When information falls into the speaker's, the general third person's, and also the listener's territory*

Next is the case where the speaker talks about a general matter in which information falls not only into the speaker's, but also the listener's, and other people's territory. Here again there are examples in which the speaker's attitude toward information differs between Japanese and English. Let us consider whether or not our hypothesis can explain the difference:

- (16)a. "Demo are kane, kekkonshiki de, naresome wa, shinroo no chichi no sooshiki de deat-te, hitomebore shi-ta n desu, tte iwa-reru no ka ne. Nantonaku ikinari engi ga warui ne."
 "Hontoo ne. Demo nanimokamo shoojiki ni iwa-naku-te mo ii mono MITAI yo.
 Tomodachi no shiki toka deru to, uso tsui-teru no ga ooi mono."
 (Yoshimoto 1988b:128)

- b. "But, I've got to tell you, I'm kind of concerned that whoever gives the toast at the reception might stand up and say, 'It was love at first sight when they met at his father's funeral.' It sounds like an inauspicious beginning, don't you think?"
 "You're right, it does. But people don't always have to spell things out exactly as they happened. I've heard all sorts of lies at my friends' weddings."
 (Translated by A. Sherif 1988:132)

- (17)a. "Kono aida denwa de bikkuri shi-ta. Okaasan no koe, yoku niteru, sokkuri." to it-ta. Kono musume no koe to sono haha dearu 'Shin-nippoo' no ronsetsu-iin, Minami Yumiko no koe ga niteiru toyuu hanashi dearu. Chie wa unazui-te,
"Kotoni denwa ni naruto soo MITAI. Kao dachi wa chigau no yo."
 (Maruya 1993:53)

- b. I got quite a surprise when I phoned you the other day: your mother's voice sounds like yours — exactly the same." The mother whose voice so resembled the girl's was Yumiko Minami of the New Daily.
"Our voices do sound similar on the phone." Chie said, nodding. "We look quite different, though."
 (Translated by D. Keene 1993:43)

In (16), the speaker is talking about what people normally say at a wedding party, and in (17), the speaker is saying that 'her voice sounds similar to her mother's voice'.

In Japanese, the speaker selects the ‘indirect form’ *mitai* ‘it looks’, while in English, it is translated into the ‘direct form’ in each example. Here again we may assume that the ‘direct form’ was considered more natural or appropriate than the ‘indirect form’ in English since the speaker is certain about the fact, and there are no possibilities of giving false information or making the listener feel bad. As long as the speaker knows it, the ‘direct form’ is selected, and it does not matter what other people think about the matter. Thus, a cultural script which is reflected in the choice of the ‘direct form’ for this case in English can be represented as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when information falls within the speaker’s, the general third person’s, and also the listener’s territory:

English

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about something (someone)’
- (b) when I think that other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about this to one of these people
- (d) I can say what I think (X)
- (e) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
- (f) I don’t have to say something else about it

In the script listed above, components (a), (b) and (c) are slightly different from the script which was given for the case where information falls into the speaker’s and a third person’s territory. That is, (a), (b) and (c) refer to the case where a topic is a general matter which is shared by the speaker and other people including the listener. Components (d)-(f) are basically the same as those for the case where information falls into the speaker’s and a third person’s territory, due to the fact that in English, the speaker can choose the ‘direct form’ as long as it does not make the listener feel bad.

Let us turn to the case of Japanese. We see that our hypothesis also applies to these cases in Japanese: what matters in selecting the sentence form is what other people might think about the topic. This is because there are other people who share

the information including the listener, and the speaker does not know how they look at the matter. In (16), for example, the topic of a wedding party is a general subject, and other people could have a different point of view from the speaker. Similarly in (17), it is not only the speaker, but also other people including the listener who can decide whether or not the speaker's voice sounds similar to her mother's voice, and even though the speaker thinks their voices sound similar, other people might not necessarily think the same as the speaker. If the speaker used the 'direct form' in each utterance, this could mean that the speaker was neglecting these people's cognition. It could sound as if the speaker were saying something with which all other people would entirely agree. Therefore, taking account of the possible disagreement of other people, the speaker uses the 'indirect form', implying 'maybe other people don't think the same as me'. Although the 'direct form' in these examples is grammatically correct, the 'indirect form' is more appropriate in Japanese from a pragmatic point of view. There are a number of examples which support this observation:

(18)a. "Chikagoro no kodomo wa yoippari da naa."

Emoto wa, moo jyuichi-ji ni nat-te, yatto Rumi ga nemuru to, warai nagara it-ta.

"Minna soo RASHII wa."

Negurije sugata no Yumi ga, chiisana sofaa ni suwat-te nobi o shi-ta. "Goshujin no kaeri ga osoi tokoro ja, dooshitemo soo naru MITAI NE."

(Akagawa 1983:275)

b. "It looks as if we have got ourselves a bit of a night owl there," Emoto said. It was already after eleven o'clock when Rumi finally went to bed.

"Children are all the same these days," Yumi said, stretching out on the sofa in her negligee. "It is especially true in families where the father doesn't get home until late."

(Translated by G. Frew 1983:137)

(19)a. Karakai gimi ni onna ga kotoba o tsuzuke-ta.

"Iya ne. Torihada tatetari shi-te. Kitto, shinkeetsuu ka, zensoku deshoo.

Kinnikushitsu no hito wa, dooshitemo jiritsu-shinkee no hoo ga yowai MITAI.

Dareka sensee ni shookaijoo demo motteru no."

(Abe 1983:30)

b. The woman went on in a teasing tone.

“My, what’s the matter, goose bumps? You must be here for neuralgia, or asthma. You muscular people always have trouble with your autonomic nerves. Have you got an introduction to one of the doctors?”

(Translated by Juliet W. Carpenter 1983:19)

In (18), the speaker is referring to what is happening in modern families, and in (19), the speaker is talking about muscular people. Note that in these examples also, the ‘direct form’ is chosen in English, which indicates that the ‘direct form’ is more appropriate when the speaker is sure about the topic, regardless of what other people might think. By contrast, in Japanese, in these cases also, what the Japanese speaker should consider is the fact that there are other people who have the information about modern families or muscular people and they could have a different opinion. If the speaker chose the ‘direct form’, it could sound as if the speaker assumes that other people would agree with the speaker. Therefore, the ‘indirect form’ is selected, taking into account the case that other people think differently. A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ for this case in Japanese is given below:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when information falls into the speaker’s, the general third person’s, and also the listener’s territory:

Japanese

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about something (someone)’
- (b) when I think that other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about this to one of these people
- (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (e) if I say what I think (X)
- (f) if other people don’t think the same
- (g) these people could feel something bad
- (h) I don’t want this
- (i) because of this, it will be good if I don’t say what I think (X) like this:
‘I say: X’
- (j) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

The script listed above is slightly different from the one which was presented for the case where the information falls into the speaker's and a specific third person's territory. In this case, components (b) and (c) indicate that the information is a general matter which is shared with other people including the listener. Components (f) and (g) show that the speaker takes into account a case where both of them disagree with the speaker. Components (h), (i), and (j) represent that the speaker chooses the 'indirect form' in order to avoid possible disagreement with other people.

4.3.4 *When information falls into the speaker's and the listener's territory*

It has been observed in the preceding sections 4.3.2, and 4.3.3, that in Japanese, how the speaker considers the cognition of people who share information has a crucial role in determining the sentence form. The same observation is also true of the case where information falls within the speaker's and the listener's territory. Within Kamio's framework, in this case the speaker chooses the 'direct *ne* form' in Japanese, and the 'direct form' in English. However, there are many cases where the 'indirect *ne* form' is selected in Japanese as illustrated below:

- (20)a. "Arigatoo gozaimasu." to robotto wa kurikaeshi, tokidoki karuku atama o sageru. Kiru-seejin tachi wa, kao o miawasete soodan shi-ta.

"Dameda. Donna buki o tsukat-te mo, kikime ga nai YOODA NA."

(Hoshi 1972a:48)

- b. "Thank you very much."

All the robot did was repeat this over and over with an occasional bow of the head. The aliens were stumped and held a discussion.

"It's no use. Our weapons are not good enough," said one.

(Translated by R. Matthew 1972:36)

(21)a. “Jooji-san, atashi ikuraka see ga nobi-ta?”

“Aa, nobi-ta tomo. Moo kono goro ja boku to anmari chigawa-nai YOODA NE.”

(Tanizaki 1974:172)

b. “Have I grown some, Joji?”

“Oh, yes, you have. You’re almost as tall as I am, now.”

(Translated by A. H. Chambers 1974:127)

(22)a. Oto wa jyuubyoo ka jyuugobyoo tsuzuite kara, suidoo no kokku o yukkurito shimeru toki no yooni dandan chiisaku nari, kie-te shimat-ta. Machigai nai. Kore ga deguchi nanoda.

“Yatto tsuita YOO NE.” to kanojo wa it-te watashi no kubisuji ni kisu o shi-ta. “Donna kimochi?”

(Murakami 1988:2-170)

b. The sound kept up for ten, maybe fifteen seconds, then passed, like a tap turning off. Yes, this was the exit.

“We made it,” she said, planting a peck on my neck. “How do you feel?”

(Translated by A. Birnbaum 1988:308)

These are situations where the speaker is describing an event being witnessed by himself/herself as well as by the listener. In (20), the speaker says to the listener that their weapons are useless; in (21), the speaker notices that his girl friend is almost as tall as him; and in (22), the speaker says to the listener that they have just arrived at their goal. Thus the information falls equally into the territories of the speaker and the listener.

Let us first consider the choice of the ‘direct form’ in English. In each example, the speaker knew the facts directly, and he/she judged that the ‘direct form’ does not make the listener feel bad. As it was observed in the previous sections, in English, the speaker may choose the ‘direct form’ regardless of the listener’s cognition except in the case of saying something bad about the listener.

On the other hand, in Japanese, despite the fact that the speaker knew the fact directly with the listener, the ‘indirect *ne* form’ *yoo da ne* (or its variant *yooda na*) ‘it appears’ is selected. This is presumably because the speaker considers what the

listener might think. Although in (20), (21) and (22), the sentence form does not make any significant difference in conveying information to the listener, if the speaker chose the ‘direct form’ in Japanese, this could imply that the speaker assumes that the listener understood the fact identically as the speaker described. Strictly speaking, however, the speaker does not know if the listener understands the event in the same way as the speaker. If the listener does not understand the fact in the same way as the speaker, the ‘direct form’ becomes an incorrect description of the facts from the listener’s point of view. Therefore, taking account of the possible cognition gap between the speaker and the listener, the ‘indirect form’ is selected, implying ‘I don’t know if you would think the same’. The choice of the ‘indirect form’ in these examples reveals that in Japanese, the speaker chooses the sentence form with the listener’s cognition in mind. On these grounds, when information falls within the speaker’s and the listener’s territory, a cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ for this case in Japanese would be represented as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when information falls into the speaker’s and the listener’s territory:

Japanese

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about something’
- (b) when I think another person can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about it to this person
- (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (e) if I say what I think (X)
- (f) if this person doesn’t think the same,
- (g) this person could feel something bad
- (h) I don’t want this
- (i) because of this, it will be good if I don’t say what I think (X) like this:
‘I say: X’
- (j) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

The script listed above is slightly different from the one which was given in previous section 4.3.3 in so far as this script focuses on the speaker’s consideration for the

listener's cognition only. That is to say, in this case, information falls within the speaker's and the listener's territory only, and the speaker needs to consider what the listener might think, and not what other people might think. The same applies to the following cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' for this case in English:

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information falls into the speaker's and the listener's territory:

English

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something'
- (b) when I think another person can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about it to this person
- (d) I can say what I think (X)
- (e) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
- (f) I don't have to say something else about it

What is consistent through the scripts given so far for the case of English is that the speaker may choose the sentence form regardless of third persons' or listener's cognition, excluding the case where the 'direct form' would make the listener feel bad. To put it briefly, what is significant in English is whether or not the speaker is sure of the fact, and this makes a communicative difference from Japanese. In the following section, we shall concentrate on the case where information falls into the listener's territory only, and present further examples to support our observation.

4.3.5 When information falls exclusively into the listener's territory

We have observed that the reason why the 'indirect form' is chosen in Japanese is not due to the territory of information, but due to the speaker's consideration for the cognition of those who share the information. This is also applicable to the case where information falls exclusively into the listener's territory. Even though the speaker is sure about the fact concerning the listener, the speaker does not know what the

listener thinks about the topic, and the speaker's understanding could be incorrect. Therefore, the 'indirect form' is chosen implying 'I don't know if you would think the same'. Let us observe the following:

(23)a. "Onii-sama, kyoo wa daibu obenkyoo no yoo deshi-ta wa ne. Watashi ga ni san-do oheya ni it-te mo, ki ga tsukanakat-ta **YOONE**."
(Miura 1973:170)

b. "You've been studying hard today, haven't you, Nobuo? I went to your room two or three times but you never noticed me."
(Translated by B. & S. Fearnough 1973:122)

(24)a. "Sooyuu shikake deshi-ta ka."
"Genki ga de-ta deshoo. Yarikata wa, moo sukkari mi ni tsui-te iru **TO OMOU kedo**, nen no tameni, komakai uchiawase ni kakarimashoo ka."
(Hoshi 1972b:125)

b. "So, that's the way it works."
"See, you're feeling better. You already know the method perfectly, but just to be sure, shall we go over the details together?"
(Translated by Stanleigh H. Jones 1972:118)

(25)a. Hachikiren bakarini nat-ta depaato no kaimono-bukuro o katate ni, kowabari-gimi no egao o ukabe-te tat-te i-ta. Hajimete miru, usucha no burausu ni kokoa-iro no sukaato wa, itsumo kiba o muiteiru yoonaa inshoo o umaku saya ni osametei-te, warukunai.
"Tsutsunuke dat-ta **RASHII NE**."
(Abe 1983:216)

b. She stood with a slightly set smile on her face, carrying in one hand a tattered old department store shopping bag. Her light-brown blouse and cocoa-colored skirt, neither of which I had seen before, did a good job of sheathing her usual bared-fangs look.
"So you knew all about it."
(Translated by J. & W. Carpenter 1983:157)

In (23), (24), and (25), the speaker refers to the listener's matter concerning whether or not he/she noticed or knew something. Let us take the example of (23). We may consider that the speaker might be sure that the listener did not notice her coming to

his room. However, the speaker does not know whether or not the listener would consider her judgement correct, and there is also a possibility that the listener might have noticed her coming. Therefore, the speaker chooses the 'indirect form', considering the possibility that the listener thinks differently from her. Viewed in this light, I propose a cultural script for selecting the 'indirect form' for this case in Japanese as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the 'indirect form' when information falls exclusively into the listener's territory:

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to someone: 'I think something (X) about you'
- (b) before I say this to this person, I have to think about it
- (c) if I say what I think (X)
- (d) if this person doesn't think the same,
- (e) this person could feel something bad
- (f) I don't want this
- (g) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
- (h) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

Components (a) and (b) above indicate that this case involves the situation where the speaker refers to the information which falls exclusively into the listener's territory. Components (c), (d) and (e) represent that fact that after judging if X is the case, the speaker first speculates about how the listener understands the same facts, and considers the case that the listener thinks differently from the speaker. Components (f), (g) and (h) show that such consideration leads the speaker to choose the 'indirect form'.

Let us turn to the case of English. As noted earlier, Kamio claims that when the information falls exclusively within the listener's territory, in English, the 'indirect form' is chosen. Kamio gives the following examples to support his claim (Kamio 1990:44):

- (26) You seem to have forgotten that.
 (27) I hear your son is a medical student at Harvard.
 (28) It looks like the procedure is very complex.

Kamio (1990:45) explains that without the indirect expression *you seem*, *I hear*, or *it looks like*, those sentences would appear impolite because of 'intrusion into the listener's territory'. However, as we have seen in (23), (24), and (25), despite the information falling exclusively into the listener's territory, the 'direct form' is chosen in English, and therefore, it is debatable whether or not the notion of the 'territory' applies to the case of English.

It is true that the 'direct form' in (26) ~ (28) could imply 'intrusion into the listener's territory' depending on the context; however, this does not necessarily always hold true. As examples (23) ~ (25) demonstrate, in English, the speaker can choose the 'direct form' as long as he/she knows the fact as X, and the 'direct form' does not make the listener feel bad. It does not influence the criteria for selecting the sentence form according to which territory the information falls into, or who knows more about the information. What matters is whether or not the speaker knows the fact as X. Judging from this, we may present a cultural script for choosing the 'direct form' for this case in English as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information falls exclusively into the listener's territory:

English

- (a) when I want to say to someone: 'I think something (X) about you'
- (b) I can say what I think (X) to this person
- (c) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
- (d) I don't have to say something else about it

What the above script states is that it is not important for the speakers in English into which territory the information falls, and the notion of the ‘territory’ does not play a significant role in the choice of the sentence form. In the following section 4.3.6, I will focus on the case where information does not fall either into the speaker’s or listener’s territory, and give further examples to support this claim.

4.3.6 *When information does not fall into the speaker’s and listener’s territory*

In the previous section 4.3.5, we observed the case where the notion of the ‘territory’ does not influence the choice of the sentence form in English. The same is true of the following case where information falls into other people’s territory, and not within the speaker’s or listener’s territory, that is to say, the speaker has only hearsay information on the topic. Look into the following:

(29)a. “Yuki no yama no naka de kyūuen o matsu aida, jōkyaku ni mattaku kuumono ga nakunat-ta toki, juushō o ou-ta hito tachi ga, jibun ga shin-da ato, kono niku o tabe-te kure to tanon-da SOODESU. Jibun no niku o tabe-te ikinobi-te kure to...”

(Endo 1993:318)

b. “As they waited in the snow-covered mountains to be rescued, they ran out of food. The critically injured asked the others to eat their flesh after they had died. Stay alive by eating my flesh, they asked.”

(Translated by V. C. Gessel:1993 199)

(30)a. “Okot-ta de shō? Kono Iesu to yuu hito wa.”

“Iya, sore ga okoranakat-ta no da na. Sono hantai dat-ta sooda yo. Kami-sama, dooka kono hito tachi o yurushi-te agete kudasai. Kono hito tachi wa, jibun ga nani o shi-te-iru noka wakaranai, kawaiisōna hito tachi desu kara to, haritsuke ni shi-ta yatsu tachi no tameni inot-ta SOODA yo.”

(Miura 1973:53)

b. “I bet this Jesus was angry, wasn’t he?”

“No, he wasn’t angry at all. On the contrary, he prayed for those who nailed him to the cross. “God”, he said, “please forgive them. I am sorry for them because they do not know what they are doing.”

(Translated by B. & S. Fearnough 1973:47)

- (31)a. “Sakki no Eriko-san wa ne, kono shashin no haha no ie ni chiisai koro, nanikano jiyoo de hikitorare-te, zutto isshoni sodat-ta SOODA. Otoko dat-ta koro demo kaodachi ga yokat-ta kara kanari mote-ta rashii kedo, nazeka kono henna kao no” Kare wa hohoen-de shashin o mi-ta.
(Yoshimoto 1988:22)

- b. “As a child Eriko was taken in by her family. I don’t know why. They grew up together. Even as a man he was good-looking, and apparently he was very popular with women. Why he would marry such a strange ...” he said smiling, looking at the photo.
(Translated by M. Backus 1988:14)

In (29), (30) and (31), the speaker refers to the information which he/she obtained from a book or other people. In other words, the information is second-hand, and the speaker does not have any direct experience. In each example, the ‘indirect form’ (*sooda*, or the polite form *soodesu*, ‘I heard’ or ‘people say’) is selected in Japanese, whereas, in English, the ‘direct form’ is selected.

First, for the case of English, as observed earlier, what is important in English is whether or not the speaker knows the fact as X, and the ‘direct form’ does not make the listener feel bad. As long as the speaker is sure about the information, he/she can choose the ‘direct form’. Thus we are now in a position to say that the notion of the ‘territory’ does not matter in the choice of the sentence form in English either.

Let us turn to the case of Japanese. In each example in (29), (30), and (31), the ‘indirect form’ is selected, and one may consider that the reason for the choice of the ‘indirect form’ is because the speaker knew the information ‘indirectly’. There is nothing wrong with this observation; however, there is a further point which needs to be mentioned. What has to be noticed is that the ‘indirect’ expression is optional in English as illustrated in the translation, while it is necessary in the case of Japanese. Let us change the ‘indirect form’ into the ‘direct form’ in each example of Japanese.

The utterance sounds as if the speaker is reading a book to the listener, and it is not natural in this context²:

(29)c. (?) “Yuki no yama no naka de kyūuen o matsu aida, jookyaku ni mattaku kuumono ga nakunat-ta toki, juushoo o ou-ta hito tachi ga, jibun ga shin-da ato, kono niku o tabe-te kure to **tanomi mashi-ta.**”

(30)c. (?) Kono hito tachi wa, jibun ga nani o shi-te-iru noka wakaranai, kawai-soona hito tachi desu kara to, haritsuke ni shi-ta yatsu tachi no tameni **inot-ta.**

(31)c. (?) “Sakki no Eriko-san wa ne, kono shashin no haha no ie ni chiisai koro, nanikano jijyoo de hikito-rare-te, zutto isshoni **sodat-ta.**”

The ‘direct form’ above is grammatical; however, in this situation, the utterance is not natural in face-to-face conversation, which suggests that the ‘indirect form’ is obligatory in Japanese when the speaker conveys the second-hand information. The question then arises: why is the ‘indirect form’ obligatory in Japanese in this case, while it is optional in English? To put it the other way round, why is the ‘direct form’ not appropriate in Japanese for this case? This observation suggests that the ‘direct form’ in Japanese has a different character from the one in English, and we need to clarify its character in order to explain the reason for the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in Japanese for this case. In the following chapter, I will discuss the issue in detail.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have analysed translated texts to explain the pragmatic rules for choosing the sentence form in Japanese and English. Through the analyses, it has been observed that in the case of Japanese, even though the information falls into the speaker’s territory, the ‘indirect form’ is selected, whereas in English, even though the

² In this case, although the ‘direct form’ is unnatural, the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is acceptable. I will discuss the issue later in chapter 5.

information does not fall into the speaker's territory, the 'direct form' is selected. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the notion of the territory does not play a significant role in choosing the sentence form in either language.

Our analyses lead to the conclusion that the sentence form is decided basically by the degree of certainty of the speaker in both languages. However, in Japanese, when other people share the information with the speaker, what is important is whether or not other people would think the same way about it. On the other hand, in English, the sentence form is decided mainly by the speaker's cognition of a fact, excluding the case of saying something bad about the listener. Therefore, we see that the 'indirect form' is more frequently observed in Japanese discourse than in English. A general script for the choice of the 'indirect form' for the case of Japanese, and the 'direct form' for the case of English appear as follows respectively:

A cultural script for selecting the 'indirect form' when other people share information with the speaker:

Japanese

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something'
- (b) when I think that other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about this
- (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (e) if I say what I think (X)
- (f) if other people don't think the same
- (g) these people could feel something bad
- (h) I don't want this
- (i) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
- (j) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when the speaker is certain of the information:

English

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about something’
- (b) I can say what I think (X) to another person
- (c) if I know that this person will not feel something bad because of this
- (d) I don’t have to say something else about it

What has to be noticed is that in the case of English, the speaker chooses the sentence form within the relation to the listener, whereas, in the case of Japanese, the speaker needs to consider not only the listener, but also other people who share the information. Thus it is clear that the dual distinction of speaker vs listener is applicable to the case of English, while it is not sufficient for the case of Japanese.

We see how Japanese discourse is ‘regulated’ with respect to ‘how to say it’, compared with English discourse. As Wierzbicka (1997a) demonstrates by her cultural scripts, the script listed above manifests core Japanese cultural values such as *enryo* (roughly, ‘restraint’ or ‘reserve’), *wa* (roughly ‘harmony’), or *omoiyari* (roughly, ‘consideration’) (cf. Wierzbicka 1991, 1997a). Generally speaking, Japanese people have a strong tendency to consider what other people might think before making an utterance in conversation. Therefore, one may reasonably conclude that the different discourse rule is directly due to these different cultural values. However, there are some cases which cannot be explained by the cultural values only: for example, as we observed in the final section 4.3.6, it is not clear why the ‘indirect form’ is obligatory in Japanese in the case where the speaker conveys second-hand information, while it is optional in English. The factor — ‘whether or not other people might think the same’ — is not sufficient to explain the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in Japanese. In the following chapter, I will focus on the speaker’s mood associated with the ‘direct form’ in Japanese, and demonstrate how the character of

the speaker's mood influences cultural scripts for selecting the sentence form in both languages.

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the speaker's mood associated with the 'direct form' in these two languages, and attempt to demonstrate that a different mood can lead to a different rule in selecting the sentence form. It was observed in the previous chapter that in Japanese, when other people share information, the speaker tends to accommodate 'whether or not other people might think the same' in selecting the sentence form. This tendency is characteristic of Japanese culture, which reflects the value of *enryo*. However, there are some cases which cannot be explained by the cultural difference only. For instance, it is not clear why the 'indirect form' is required in Japanese in giving second-hand information, while it is optional in English. There seems to be another factor influencing the choice of the sentence form, and we need to discuss this point. Section 5.1 starts with a review of previous studies concerning the speaker's mood associated with a prototype of the 'direct form' in both languages. Section 5.2 discusses the issue by focusing on 'psychological uncertainty' (Kaneko 1990, 1994, 1997), and provides a semantic analysis by means of the NRSs theory. It will be shown that a difference in the speaker's mood also leads to different cultural scripts in both languages. Section 5.3 deals with the 'mild form' and explains why this form can be used in 'psychological uncertainty'.

CHAPTER 5

Semantic Analysis of the ‘Direct Form’ in Japanese

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the speaker’s mood associated with the ‘direct form’ in these two languages, and attempt to demonstrate that a different mood can lead to a different rule in selecting the sentence form. It was observed in the previous chapter that in Japanese, when other people share information, the speaker tends to accommodate ‘whether or not other people might think the same’ in selecting the sentence form. This tendency is characteristic of Japanese culture, which reflects the value of *enryo*. However, there are some cases which cannot be explained by the cultural difference only. For instance, it is not clear why the ‘indirect form’ is required in Japanese in giving second-hand information, while it is optional in English. There seems to be another factor influencing the choice of the sentence form, and we need to discuss this point. Section 5.1 starts with a review of previous studies concerning the speaker’s mood associated with a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in both languages. Section 5.2 discusses the issue, by focusing on ‘psychological utterances’ (Kamio 1990, 1994, 1995), and provides a semantic analysis by means of the NSM theory. It will be shown that a difference in the speaker’s mood also leads to different cultural scripts in both languages. Section 5.3 deals with the ‘*noda* form’ and explains why this form can be used in ‘psychological utterances’.

5.1 The Speaker's Mood Associated with the 'Direct Form' in Previous Studies

Let us start with the case of English. As Wierzbicka (1996, 1998) points out, KNOW plays an essential role in the systems of mood in English: with a prototype of 'declaratives' being based on the semantic component 'I know', and the 'interrogatives' on the component 'I don't know — I want to know'. For instance, let us look into the following examples (Wierzbicka 1998:172):

(1) It is raining.

If a speaker says (1), the utterance includes the following speaker's mood:

(2) It is raining. I know.

In the case of the 'interrogatives', utterance (3) below implies utterance (4) (Wierzbicka 1998:172):

(3) Is it raining?

(4) Is it raining? I don't know, I want to know.

The component 'I know' in the prototypical case of declarative sentences in English also applies to the following example where a speaker gives his/her opinion:

(5) You are wrong.

What this sentence indicates is the speaker's attitude, 'You are wrong. I know.'; therefore, if the speaker tried not to make the listener feel bad, he/she would say as follows:

(6) I think that you are wrong.

In other words, since 'you are wrong' connotes that 'I know that you are wrong', this sounds impolite in a sense that the speaker is directly threatening the listener's 'face' (Brown and Levinson 1978), and thus (6) is preferred in saying something bad about the listener.

Let us next consider the case of Japanese. In the prototypical case of declarative sentences in Japanese, the mood 'I know' seems to be embedded:

(7) X: Ame ga fut-te i-masu.
rain NOM rain-CONJ PROG-P

'It is raining.'

This sentence would imply the speaker's mood that 'I know.' However, I would like to note the following point: in the case of English, when one says 'it is raining', the listener may respond with 'I know'. On the other hand, in the case of Japanese, the listener generally would reply 'yes, it is' (or 'no, it isn't'), and a response with 'I know' sounds quite odd:

(8) X: It is raining.

Y: Yes, I know.

(9) X: Ame ga fut-te i-masu (ne).
rain NOM rain-CONJ PROG-P SF

'It is raining, (isn't it?)'

Ya: Hai, soo desu ne.

yes so is-P SF

‘Yes, it is.’

Yb: (?) Hai, shit-te i-masu.

yes I.know-P

‘Yes, I know.’

The questions arise: why is the response with ‘I know’ inappropriate in Japanese, while it is natural in English?; Does a prototypical case of declaratives in Japanese connote ‘I know’ only? In short, there seems to be a semantic difference between both languages.

Let us begin by considering the semantic component of declaratives in Japanese in terms of the theory of territory of information. According to the theory, the ‘direct form’, namely declaratives, implies a ‘monopoly of information’, and therefore, when the information falls into the territories of the speaker and the listener, the ‘direct form’ should be avoided, and the ‘direct *ne* form’ is selected. This sounds plausible from the examples given by Kamio. For example, recall the following case where both the speaker and the listener are under a clear blue sky and observe that the weather is fine. In this case, the speaker may say as follows (Kamio 1994:88):

(10) Ii tenki da NEE.

nice weather is SF

‘It’s a beautiful day, isn’t it?’

If *nee* (a variant of *ne*) is dropped, the utterance would imply that the information falls into the speaker’s territory only. Kamio (1994:96) claims that ‘the speaker must

use *ne* when he/she assumes that a given piece of information falls equally, or more deeply, within the listener's territory, and to the fullest degree'. As for the character of *ne*, Kamio gives the following explanation (Kamio 1990:62 my translation):

the function of *ne*: *ne* is an indispensable signal which shows that the amount of speaker's information is the same as the listener's information, with regard to the content of the conversation

If we follow his theory, the semantic component of the 'direct form' and *ne* respectively could be defined as follows:

the 'direct form' in Japanese

I know this
I think you don't know this

ne
I know this
I think you know the same

There are, however, many cases which contradict the semantic components above. Let us first consider the case of *ne* by the following example:

- (11) Kyanbera wa sumi-nikui tokoro desu.
Canberra TOP live-difficult place is-P

'Canberra is an unpleasant place to live in.'

Here the speaker expresses his/her opinion about Canberra. Suppose that the speaker and the listener have lived in Canberra for several years. According to Kamio's argument, since the 'direct form' implies the 'monopoly of information', (11) is not a proper utterance in this case. Let us then consider the following case where the speaker uses the 'direct-*ne* form'. It still, however, does not necessarily become an appropriate utterance:

- (12) (?) Kyanbera wa sumi-nikui tokoro desu NE.
 Canberra TOP live-difficult place is-P SF

‘Canberra is an unpleasant place to live in, isn’t it?’

This sentence is grammatically correct, and a natural utterance. If the listener, however, feels differently from the speaker, this becomes inappropriate. To be specific, if, contrary to the speaker’s point of view, the listener thinks that Canberra is a good place to live in, the sentence (12) sounds as if the speaker is forcing his/her opinion about Canberra, assuming that the listener thinks the same. In other words, *ne* implies ignoring the listener’s point of view. Therefore, both sentences (11) and (12) become inadequate from a pragmatic point of view.

Note that if the content is relatively subjective, and there is a possibility that other people would disagree, the speaker should avoid using the ‘direct form’ or the ‘direct-*ne* form’. It is preferred that the speaker should show his/her subjectivity in his/her opinion with the ‘indirect form’:

- (13) Watashi wa Kyanbera wa sumi-nikui to OMOI-MASU.
 I TOP Canberra TOP live-difficult COMP think-P

‘I think that Canberra is an unpleasant place to live in.’

- (14) Kyanbera wa sumi-nikui KI GA SHI-MASU.
 Canberra TOP live-difficult I.have.a.feeling-P

‘I feel that Canberra is an unpleasant place to live in.’

In the examples (13) and (14), we can see that they contain the ‘indirect form’ *to omou* ‘I think’ (*omoi-masu* is the polite form.) or *ki ga suru* ‘I feel’ (*ki ga shi-masu* is the polite form). These ‘indirect forms’ indicate that the speaker’s opinion is merely a subjective one, and the speaker knows that other people might think

differently; therefore, these ‘indirect forms’ are more appropriate than the ‘direct-*ne* form’ in these cases.

On the other hand, if the content is such that the listener can easily agree, the ‘indirect form’ which signifies subjectivity becomes inappropriate. For example, take a situation where the speaker and the listener are talking about writing an essay in English. If English is not their first language, writing an essay is probably not easy for either of them. In this situation, if one of them says as follows:

- (15) Eego de essee o kaku no wa muzukashii TO OMOU.
English in essay ACC write NOML TOP difficult COMP I.think

‘I think that writing an essay in English is difficult.’

In utterance (15), the ‘indirect form’ *to omou* presents the speaker’s opinion as subjective, and this could imply that the speaker assumes that the listener does not think that writing an essay in English is difficult. Therefore in the case where the listener can be expected to say the same as the speaker, the ‘direct *ne* form’ is more appropriate:

- (16) Eego de essee o kaku no wa muzukashii NE.
English in essay ACC write NOML TOP difficult SF

‘Writing an essay in English is difficult, isn’t it?’

In utterance (16), *ne* is used to imply that the speaker assumes that the listener would say the same as the speaker. Viewed in this light, we are able to consider that the semantic component of *ne* is not ‘I think you know the same’. Rather, as Wierzbicka (1994:74) defines it, *ne* signifies ‘I think you would say the same’.

Let us next concentrate on the semantic component of the ‘direct form’. Kamio argues that the ‘direct form’ implies a ‘monopoly of information’; however, in his theory, there seems to be a confusion of the understanding of the ‘direct form’ and

another sentence-final particle *yo*. In his discussion, Kamio gives many sentences which end with *yo* as examples of the ‘direct form’. For example, Kamio (1990:51) gives the following utterances (both X and Y are English speakers):

- (17) X: What’s going on in the world? Did you read a newspaper today?
Y: A big earthquake occurred in Italy.

Kamio explains that in English, the speaker Y can use the ‘direct form’ even though he knows about the earthquake indirectly through the news, while in Japanese, Y’s response would normally take the ‘indirect form’ as follows (Kamio 1990:51):

- (18) Y: a. Italia de daijishin ga at-ta nda-TTE.
Italy L-D big.earthquake NOM be-PAST it.is.that-I.hear

‘Someone said that a big earthquake occurred in Italy.’

- b. Italia de daijishin ga at-ta RASHII yo.
Italy L-D big.earthquake NOM be-PAST seem SF

‘It seems that a big earthquake occurred in Italy.’

- c. Italia de daijishin ga atta SOODA.
Italy L-D big.earthquake NOM be-PAST I.hear

‘I heard that a big earthquake occurred in Italy.’

Kamio argues that if Y makes the following utterance in this case, it gives a clear impression that the speaker monopolizes the information (Kamio 1990:53):

- (19) (?) Italia de daijishin ga at-ta yo.
Italy L-D big.earthquake NOM be-PAST SF

‘A big earthquake occurred in Italy.’

Kamio points out that (19) sounds as if only the speaker has the information, and is giving it to the listener.

In fact, utterance (19) gives the impression that the speaker gives the information which the listener does not know. It is so, however, because the utterance ends with the sentence-final particle *yo*. Kamio (1994:71) clearly states that he does not discuss the character of *yo* since it does not have an important theoretical status in his analysis. If we analyze the meaning of each sentence carefully, however, it will be clear that there is a significant difference between sentences which end with *yo* and those without *yo*.

As for the analysis of *yo*, Maynard (1993:106), in a comparison with the function of *ne*, argues that *yo* is used when only the speaker has the information whereas the listener does not. That is to say, according to Maynard, *yo* signifies the ‘monopoly of information’ (‘I know this. I think you don’t know this’). The question then arises: which of the two implies the ‘monopoly of information’, the ‘direct form’ or the ‘direct-*yo* form’?

Let us first focus attention on the ‘direct *yo* form’. Kamio argues that the ‘direct form’ is relatively rare in Japanese due to the impression of the ‘monopoly of information’, and it is acceptable only in cases such as oral examinations or job interviews. Consider Kamio’s following utterances (Kamio 1990:58):

(20) X: Taiheiyoo-sensoo ga owat-ta no wa itsu desu ka?
Pacific. war NOM finish-PAST NOML TOP when is-P Q

‘When did the Pacific war finish?’

Y: a. 1945 nen desu.
1945-year is-P

‘It finished in 1945.’

b. ? 1945 nen no YOODESU.
1945-year GEN look-P

‘It looks it finished in 1945.’

c. ? 1945 nen RASHIIDESU.
1945-year seem-P

‘It seems it finished in 1945.’

According to Kamio (1990:58), at an oral examination, Y is expected to have the information in his territory. In other words, in this case, the person who monopolizes the information is the examinee Y only, and thus, only the ‘direct form’ is appropriate. However, consider the case where Y answers the question with the ‘direct-*yo*’ form, which sounds quite inappropriate:

(21) X: Taiheiyoo-sensoo ga owat-ta no wa itsu desu ka?
Pacific war NOM finish-PAST NOML TOP when is-P Q

‘When did the Pacific war finish?’

Y: ? d. 1945 nen desu yo.
1945-year is-P SF

‘It finished in 1945.’

Y’s answer sounds as if Y assumes that the examiner X does not know when the Pacific war finished and provides the answer.

Next consider the following case. Speaker X does not know about Canberra. X asks Y about Canberra, who has lived there for several years:

(22) X: Kyanbera-tte donna tokoro?
Canberra -LINK what.kind.of place

‘What kind of place is Canberra?’

Y: a. ? Kyanbera wa ii tokoro da.
Canberra TOP good place is

‘Canberra is a good place.’

b. Kyanbera wa ii tokoro da yo.

Canberra TOP good place is SF

‘Canberra is a good place.’

In this case, more appropriate form is the ‘direct *yo* form’ because if the speaker were to use the ‘direct form’, it would sound like Y was talking to himself and therefore, it is not a natural response to the question.

Thus as Maynard points out, it is the ‘direct *yo* form’ which signifies the ‘monopoly of information’. As demonstrated above, the ‘direct form’ and the ‘direct-*yo* form’ have a different function: there is a crucial semantic difference between them. Viewed in this light, I give the following definition of *yo*:

yo

I know this

I think you don’t know this

There still remains an unsettled question: what does the ‘direct form’ without *yo* imply in Japanese? What kind of mood is involved in the semantic component?

Let us discuss the subject from Masuoka’s point of view. According to Masuoka (1992:32), the difference in sentence form between the ‘direct form’ and ‘indirect form’ depends not on the territory of information, but on the speaker’s truth or falsehood judgement, which means that if the speaker recognizes the information as true, the ‘direct form’ is selected, but if not, the ‘indirect form’ is used. Masuoka’s discussion is reasonable since his theory can explain various sentences which Kamio’s theory cannot cover. Based on Masuoka’s theory, let us propose the following hypothesis:

the ‘direct form’

I know it is true

Recall that a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in English implies the speaker’s mood ‘I know’. It is possible that there is a slight semantic gap between both languages in this respect, and we need to establish whether or not a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in Japanese includes ‘it is true’. In the following section, I will discuss this issue in detail.

5.2 Semantic Analysis of the Speaker’s Mood Associated with the ‘Direct Form’ in Japanese

The question is whether or not a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in Japanese implies ‘I know it is true’, rather than ‘I know’. In order to test this hypothesis, I would like to return to the issue of the sentences which express one’s inner feelings or mental states.

As we saw in chapter 2, it is a well-known fact that Japanese has a restriction of subject in sentences which express one’s inner conditions (Teramura 1972, Aoki 1986). Recall the following examples which were given in 2.1:

- (23) Watashi wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
I TOP water ACC want-drink

‘I want to drink water.’

- (24) Watashi wa sabishii.
I TOP I.feel.lonely

‘I feel lonely.’

Utterances (23) and (24) are grammatical when the subject is a first person; however if the experiencer is a second or third person, the sentences with the ‘direct form’ become ungrammatical:

- (25) *Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink

‘Taroo wants to drink water.’

- (26) *Taroo wa sabishii.
Taroo TOP I.feel.lonely

‘Taroo feels lonely.’

As the following examples illustrate, the ‘indirect form’ should be used when the subject is a second or third person:

- (27) Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai YOODA.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink appear

‘It appears that Taroo wants to drink water.’

- (28) Taroo wa sabishii RASHII.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely seem

‘It seems that Taroo feels lonely.’

The reason for the ungrammaticality of sentences (25) and (26) was traditionally explained as follows: one cannot know the other person’s inner condition directly (cf. Teramura 1972). In opposition to this traditional view, as we noted in chapter 2, Kamio and Masuoka argue that the ungrammaticality of these sentences can be explained by a pragmatic rule by which the speaker avoids incursion into the other person’s private territory.

Teramura (1971), however, notes that if the sentence takes the past form *-ta*, it becomes grammatical:

- (29) Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-takat-ta.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink-PAST

‘Taroo wanted to drink water.’

Teramura (1971:348-349) suggests that the past form *-ta* might carry a different mood from that of the present tense.

On the other hand, with regard to Teramura's suggestion, Kinsui (1989:122) argues that utterance (29) becomes unacceptable in the following context:

(30) X: Sono toki Taroo wa donna dat-ta?
that time Taroo TOP how is-PAST

'How was Taroo at that time?'

Y:?? Un, (Taroo wa) mizu ga nomi-takat-ta.
Yes, Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink-PAST

'Yes, he wanted to drink water.'

In this case also, if we use the 'indirect form', it becomes appropriate (Kinsui 1989:122):

(31) Y: Un, (Taroo wa) mizu ga nomi-takat-ta YOODA.
Yes, Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink-PAST appear

'Yes, it appears that he wanted to drink water.'

Kinsui (1989:123) points out that although (29) is grammatical, it is acceptable only in a story-telling situation and he gives the following rule (Kinsui 1989:123 my translation):

In Japanese, in reporting something, the speaker has to make a distinction of the sentence form between the information which he/she knew directly and which he/she didn't, and the information which he/she can convey directly and which he/she can't.

The question then arises as to why the utterance becomes acceptable or unacceptable depending on the situation: why the speaker has to make a distinction of the sentence form according to the type of discourse in Japanese.

We can explain the reason if we assume that the speaker's mood associated with a prototype of the 'direct form' in Japanese signifies 'I know it is true'. The reason why (29) is acceptable in a story-telling situation is that, in a story-telling situation, it is the writer who knows the truth, and the writer can make up his/her own story as to how Taroo really felt. Therefore, the writer can convey the information in the 'direct form' implying 'I know it is true', if he/she wants to convey it as a fact.

In a real conversation such as in face-to-face discourse, however, it is not the speaker who knows the truth as to how Taroo felt. In situation (30), for example, it is Taroo who knows the truth as to whether or not he wanted to drink water. If Y uses the 'direct form' which implies 'I know it is true', this becomes Y's own judgement which completely ignores Taroo's cognition. That is to say, the 'direct form' totally contradicts Y's status as a speaker, and therefore, it becomes unacceptable.

This example provides, I think, strong evidence to support our hypothesis that a prototype of the 'direct form' in Japanese implies 'I know it is true', rather than 'I know.' If it meant 'I know' as in English, the 'direct form' in (30Y) should be acceptable. Even if Taroo said to Y directly that he wanted to drink water, and Y knows it, the 'direct form' cannot be used. Since the 'direct form' carries the meaning 'I know it is true', the speaker/writer cannot choose the 'direct form' except the case where he/she is telling a story which he/she created, or when conveying information which he/she can report as true. Therefore, even when a writer tells a story, if he/she describes a real person's inner feeling as a real story, the writer cannot use the 'direct form':

(32) ?? Sensee wa sono toki kinodokuni omow-are-ta.
 teacher TOP that time sympathetically think-PASSIVE-PAST

'The teacher felt sympathy at that time.'

- (33) Sensee wa sono toki kinodokuni omow-are-ta YOODEARU.
 teacher TOP that time sympathetically think-PASSIVE-PAST appear

‘It appears that the teacher felt sympathy at that time.’

In this case, ‘the teacher’ is described as an actual person, and therefore it is the teacher who knows the truth as to whether or not he/she felt sympathy. In other words, the writer is not in a position to know the truth, and he/she simply imagines how the teacher felt. Therefore, only the ‘indirect form’ is acceptable in this situation. This is not a matter of whether the information falls within the speaker’s/writer’s territory, or the speaker/writer has the ‘right to judge’. This is mainly due to the semantic mood associated with the ‘direct form’ in Japanese.

In addition to this observation above, it is interesting to note one other point. As pointed out by many scholars (eg. Kuno 1973; Nakano 1982; Mizutani 1985), it has been well recognized that the *yes-no* answer in replying to a negative tag question differs between English speakers and Japanese speakers. Consider, for instance, the following dialogue between English speakers:

- (34) X: You didn’t go to the bank, did you?

Ya: Yes, I did. (Yes, I went to the bank.)

Yb: No, I didn’t. (No, I didn’t go to the bank.)

That is to say, in the case of English, if Y went to the bank, Y’s answer should be *yes*, and if Y didn’t go to the bank, Y’s answer should be *no*. In the case of Japanese, however, this *yes-no* answer becomes simply opposite:

- (35) X: Ginkoo ni iki-masendeshi-ta ne?
 bank to go-P+ NEG-PASST SF

‘You didn’t go to the bank, did you?’

Ya: Iie, ikimashi-ta.
no go-P-Past

‘(Lit.) No, I did.’ (No, I went to the bank.)

Yb: Hai, iki-masendeshi-ta.
yes go-P+Neg-PAST

‘(Lit.) Yes, I didn’t.’ (Yes, I didn’t go to the bank.)

Note that Y’s response is *iie* ‘no’ if Y went to the bank, and *hai* ‘yes’ if Y didn’t go to the bank. This is because Y is expected to respond to the negative tag question in terms of whether or not it is true. In other words, since the ‘direct form’ signifies ‘I know it is true’, *Ginkou ni iki-masendeshi-ta ne* (‘You didn’t go to the bank, did you?’) connotes ‘I know it is true that you didn’t go to the bank. I think you would say the same’. Therefore, if Y went to the bank, he/she answers *iie* ‘no’, implying ‘no, it is not true that I didn’t go to the bank’, and if Y didn’t go to the bank, he/she responds *hai* ‘yes’ signifying ‘yes, it is true that I didn’t go to the bank’. What matters in the negative tag question in Japanese is whether or not the question is true, and it is for this reason that the *yes-no* answer in Japanese is the opposite of that in English.

Furthermore, as we noted earlier in this chapter, when one says ‘it is raining’ in Japanese, the listener generally would reply ‘yes, it is’ (or ‘no, it isn’t’), and a response with ‘I know’ sounds inappropriate:

(36) X: Ame ga fut-te-imasu (ne).
rain NOM rain-PROG-P SF

‘It is raining, (isn’t it?)’

Ya: Hai, soo desu ne.
yes so is-P SF

‘Yes, it is.’

Yb: (?) Hai, shit-te imasu.
yes, I.know-P

‘Yes, I know.’

This is because in Japanese, the speaker expects the listener to respond whether or not the listener agrees with what the speaker says, and it does not matter whether or not the listener knows it. Therefore, in this case, it is also quite natural that the listener responds with ‘it is true’:

(37) X: Ame ga fut-te-imasu (ne).
rain NOM rain-PROG-P SF

‘It is raining, (isn’t it?)’

Yb: Hontoo desu ne.
true is-P SF

‘It is true.’

It is important to note that when the speaker simply wants to imply ‘I know’ in Japanese, *shitte iru* ‘know’ is used with a complement clause, and in this case, the listener’s response with ‘I know’ becomes appropriate:

(38) X: Watashi wa ame ga fut-teiru no o shit-te imasu.
I TOP rain NOM rain-PROG NOM L ACC know-P

‘I know that it is raining.’

Y: Hai, (watashi mo) shit-te imasu.
yes I too know-P

‘Yes, I know.’

Thus we may reasonably consider that a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in Japanese implies ‘I know it is true’:

a prototype of the 'direct form' in English

I know

a prototype of the 'direct form' in Japanese

I know it is true

Based on our assumption, let us attempt to explain the reason why a hearsay marker is obligatory in Japanese when one gives second hand information, while it is optional in English. As we observed in 4.3.6, the 'indirect form' should be selected in Japanese in this case, and the 'direct form' is not appropriate. This phenomenon is also observed in the translation from English into Japanese:

- (39)a. Keating took the three-page roll and examined it. "Answer with, 'Present,' please," he said. "Chapman?"
 "Present."
 "Perry?" No one answered. "Neil Perry?"
"He had a dental appointment, sir," Charlie said.
 "Ummhmm. Watson?" Keating called. No one answered. "Richard Watson absent too, eh?"
"Watson's sick, sir," someone called out.
 (N. H. Kleinbaum 1989 :69)
- b. Kiitingu wa san-peeji no shussekiyo o uketori, zatto me o tooshita.
 "Chanto 'hai' to henji o suru yooni. Chapman?"
 "Hai."
 "Perii?"
 Henji wa nai.
 "Niiru Perii wa?"
"Perii wa haisha no yoyaku ga aru to IT-TE IMASHI-TA" Chaarii ga it-ta.
 "Fumu fumu. Watosun?"
 Kiitingu ga yondemo, matamoya henji ga nakat-ta.
 "Richaado Watosun mo keseki kana?"
"Watosun wa taichoo ga warui SOODESU" dareka ga it-ta.
 (Translated by Rou Shiraishi 1989:104)

In (39), students are giving reasons why their classmates are absent from class. Note that in both underlined utterances, the 'direct form' in English is translated into the 'indirect form' (*it-te imashi-ta* 'he said' and *soodesu* 'I hear') in Japanese, illustrating

that the hearsay maker is necessary in Japanese. This is because in this situation, the speaker is giving information which he/she does not know directly. The speaker simply heard the reason second hand why his classmate is absent, and therefore the 'direct form' which connotes 'I know it is true' does not match the speaker's utterance. In Japanese, unless the speaker knows that the information is something which he/she can report as true to other people, the 'direct form' cannot be used. In the case of English, on the other hand, since the 'direct form' implies 'I know', the speaker may choose it as long as he/she knows it. This is why the second hand information can be conveyed in the 'direct form' in English, depending on a situation.

Here we may recall the example from classroom teaching of Japanese which I offered in 1.3. In responding to a tutor's question as to what other students like, we noted that the 'direct form' is not appropriate:

(40) Tutor: Jon-san wa nani ga sukidesu ka?
 John-HON TOP what NOM like-P Q

'What does John like?'

Tom: (a) (?) Jon-san wa sakkaa ga sukidesu.
 John-HON TOP soccer NOM like-P

'John likes soccer.'

(b) Jon-san wa sakkaa ga sukida SOODESU.
 John-HON TOP soccer NOM like I.hear-P

'I hear that John likes soccer.'

The reason why the 'direct form' is inappropriate is that in this case Tom simply heard from John that he likes soccer, and Tom does not know whether or not it is true. Since Tom does not have any direct experience of the matter, the 'direct form' which implies 'I know it is true' sounds unnatural as his response. Therefore, needless to say, in this situation, if the information is based on the speaker's direct

experience and not second hand, the ‘direct form’ can be used. Suppose that the tutor asks Tom what his father likes. Tom can respond to the question with the ‘direct form’:

- (41) Tutor: Tom-san no otoo-san wa nani ga sukidesu ka?
 Tom-HON GEN father-HON TOP what NOM like-P Q

‘What does your father like?’

Tom: Chichi wa sakkaa ga sukidesu.
 my.father TOP soccer NOM like-P

‘My father likes soccer.’

This is because in this case Tom is reporting the information as a fact based on his direct observation. It is possible for him to know whether or not it is true that his father likes soccer, and therefore, if he considers it true, he can convey the information with the ‘direct form’.

Thus we see why in Japanese, the use of the ‘direct form’ is relatively limited compared to English, and why in a case of a face-to-face conversation, the sentence-final particle such as *ne* ‘I think you would say the same’ (Wierzbicka 1994) is constantly used. That is, in face-to face discourse, the speaker is expected to confirm listeners’ agreement as to whether or not the information is true. For example, if the speaker assumes that the information is relatively objective, something with which everyone would agree, the ‘direct form’ can be used, but here the ‘direct form’ immediately followed by the particle *ne*:

- (42) Tookyoo wa hito ga oosugiru NE.
 Tokyo TOP people NOM too.many SF

‘There are too many people in Tokyo, aren’t they?’

In this case, the speaker assumes that the information that ‘there are too many people in Tokyo’ is something with which the listener would agree without argument.

Therefore, the speaker conveys it as true, but the particle *ne* is added at the end of the sentence to confirm it.

On the other hand, as we noted earlier in 5.1, if the information is relatively subjective, the use of the particle *ne* is not always appropriate:

- (43) (?) Kyanbera wa sumi-nikui tokoro desu NE.
 Canberra TOP live-difficultu place is-P SF

‘Canberra is an unpleasant place to live in, isn’t it?’

In this case, if the listener thinks that ‘Canberra is a good place to live in’, the utterance with the ‘direct-*ne* form’ sounds as if the speaker is confirming that his/her subjective opinion is true, assuming that the listener would say the same. Therefore, the ‘direct-*ne* form’ is inappropriate in a case where there is a possibility that the addressee might have a different idea.

5.3 Semantic Analysis of the ‘*Noda Form*’

In this section, let us devote a little more space to discussing the function of the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’. As we noted earlier, there are some examples where the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ can be used in the case where the ‘direct form’ is unacceptable. Since a fuller study of the function of the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ lies outside the scope of this thesis, it can be mentioned only summarily.

Recall our earlier examples where the speaker refers to second-hand information. We noted that although the ‘direct form’ is unnatural in the context, the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is acceptable:

(44)d. “Yuki no yama no naka de kyūuen o matsu aida, jookyaku ni mattaku kuumono ga nakunat-ta toki, jyuushoo o ou-ta hito tachi ga, jibun ga shin-da ato, kono niku o tabe-te kure to tanon-da **NODESU**.”

e. “As they waited in the snow-covered mountains to be rescued, they ran out of food. (It is that) The critically injured asked the others to eat their flesh after they had died. Stay alive by eating my flesh, they asked.”

(45)d. Kono hito tachi wa, jibun ga nani o shi-teiru noka wakaranai, kawaisoona hito tachi desu kara to, haritsuke ni shi-ta yatsu tachi no tameni inot-ta **NODA**.

e. On the contrary, (it is that) he prayed for those who nailed him to the cross. “God”, he said, “please forgive them. I am sorry for them because they do not know what they are doing.”

(46)d. “Sakki no Eriko-san wa ne, kono shashin no haha no ie ni chiisai koro, nanikano jijyoo de hikito-rare-te, zutto isshoni sodat-ta **NDA**.”

e. “As a child Eriko was taken in by her family. I don’t know why. (It is that) They grew up together.”

As illustrated above, if the utterance takes the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ (*nda/ndesu* are the contracted forms), each case becomes acceptable although the hearsay marker is more appropriate since the speaker conveys second-hand information.

The ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is usually translated as ‘it is a fact that’ (Aoki 1986:228), or ‘it is that’ (McGloin 1989:89). Aoki (1986:228) argues that this form ‘may be used to state that the speaker is convinced that for some reason what is ordinarily directly unknowable is nevertheless true’. Aoki’s analysis suggests that, if the speaker knows something from some source, and considers it as a truth, the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ can be used, indicating the speaker’s conviction of ‘I know it is true’ is based on some grounds. In (46), for example, if the speaker hears from Eriko herself that she grew up together with her relatives, and further judges it as a truth, he/she can propose the information by the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’, implying for this case ‘I know it is true. I know this because I heard this’. The same observation applies to

the cases of (44) and (45): if the speaker hears a story and if he/she is convinced the information is true, the '*noda/nodesu* form' can be used.

The use of the '*noda/nodesu* form' is not limited to the case of conveying information which the speaker heard from other source. Let us look closely at some other cases. For instance, this form is also used in the case where the speaker reports something which he/she saw directly. Suppose that the speaker saw Taroo breaking a vase and reports this to someone. The '*noda/nodesu* form' is appropriate as illustrated below:

- (47) Taroo ga kabin o wat-ta NDESU.
Taroo NOM vase ACC break-PAST it.is.that

'(It is that) Taroo broke the vase.'

In utterance (47), the speaker's conviction is based on seeing. Therefore, the '*noda/nodesu* form' for this case implies 'I know it is true. I know this because I saw this'. However, even though the speaker does not have direct experience such as seeing or hearing it, if the speaker is convinced that 'Taroo broke the vase' because the speaker knows Taroo's personality, or something else about him, this form is also used as expressed in utterance (47). In this case, the component 'I know it is true. I know this because I know something else' would be included.

Furthermore, the '*noda/nodesu* form' is also used when the speaker refers to his/her own action or inner states. Let us look into the following example where the speaker broke a vase and reports this to someone:

- (48) Watashi ga kabin o wat-ta NDESU.
I NOM vase ACC break-PAST it.is.that

'(It is that) I broke the vase.'

In this case, the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ implies ‘I know it is true. I know this because I did this.’ In the case where the speaker refers to his/her own inner states, the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is also natural:

- (49) Watashi wa sabishii NODA.
 I TOP feel.lonely it.is.that

‘(It is that) I feel lonely.’

In (49), this form connotes ‘I know this because I feel this’.

Let us now summarize the main points. We have seen that the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ includes the following variables depending on the context:

I know it is true

- a. I know this because I heard this
- b. I know this because I saw this
- c. I know this because I know something else
- d. I know this because I did this
- e. I know this because I feel this

Judging from these implications above, we may see that the core meaning of the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is that the speaker has a reason to assert something. Although the form itself does not clarify whether or not the conviction is based on hearing, seeing, feeling, or knowing something else, this form implies that the speaker can say why he/she knows it is true. Viewed in this light, I propose the following definition of the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’:

the ‘noda/nodesu form’

I know it is true

I can say why I know it is true

Now we can propose the answer to the question why this form can be used in ‘psychological utterances’. Let us recall that the ‘direct form’ cannot be used in Japanese in the case where the speaker refers to a second or third person’s inner condition, while the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is acceptable (cf. Teramura 1971, Aoki 1986, Kamio 1990):

- (50) *Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink

‘Taroo wants to drink water’.

- (51) *Taroo wa sabishii.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely

‘Taroo feels lonely.’

- (52) Taroo wa mizu ga nomi-tai NODA.
Taroo TOP water ACC want-drink it.is.that

‘(It is that) Taroo wants to drink water’.

- (53) Taroo wa sabishii NODA.
Taroo TOP feel.lonely it.is.that

‘(It is that) Taroo feels lonely.’

The reason for the acceptability of the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ can be explained by taking a closer look at the speaker’s mood associated with the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’. In the examples above, *noda/nodesu* functions as the speaker’s conviction of ‘I know it is true’ based on some source. That is to say, if the speaker judged the information as true after hearing it from Taroo, or seeing Taroo’s behavior, *noda/nodesu* is selected, indicating that ‘I know it is true. I can say why I know it is true’. If the ‘*noda/nodesu* form’ is used to describe one’s superior’s inner state, the utterance may sound impolite; however, this is still acceptable as a statement.

Let me briefly explain the reason from a semantic point of view why Japanese has a restriction of subject in ‘psychological sentences’. Semantically, *sabishii* ‘feel

lonely' or *nomi-tai* 'want to drink' are predicates which manifest the speaker's inner states only when they are used with present form. In other words, in English, *feel lonely*, or *want to drink water* can signify not only the first person's but also second- and third-person's mental condition with either present and past form, whereas in Japanese, these predicates with present form can indicate only a speaker's inner states. The same observation applies to mental predicates such as *omou* 'think' and *kanjiru* 'feel'. As Onishi (1994:368) states, *omou* and *kanjiru* also denote the inner state of the speaker's mind only, and thus it has first-person orientation in declarative sentences, and second-person orientation in interrogative sentences. Therefore, if these predicates with present form take a second- or third-person subject, sentences are syntactically unacceptable. Thus we see that the restriction of a subject is not due to the impossibility of knowing the other person's inner state, or the pragmatic rule of avoiding intrusion into a third person's territory, but due to the semantic character of the first-person orientation of these predicates.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the speaker's mood associated with the 'direct form' in Japanese. Since the 'direct form' signifies the content is a truth with which all other people would entirely agree, the Japanese speaker first considers if it is really possible to use it, or if all other people would say the same, and chooses the appropriate form. If the speaker chooses the 'direct form', the speaker has to take responsibility for the reliability of the information. Therefore, in the case where the speaker refers to a topic with which the listener or other people are familiar, it is safer to select the 'indirect form'. On the other hand, in English, the speaker may choose the 'direct form' as long as he/she knows the information, since the 'direct form'

simply implies 'I know'. Therefore, whether or not other people would think the same is not a main criterion influencing the choice of the sentence form in English. For this reason, as we noted earlier, we may see why, the Maxim of Quality (Grice 1975:46: Try to make your contribution one that is true) has a priority in Japanese, whereas the Maxim of Manner (Grice 1975:46: 1. Avoid obscurity of expression 2. Avoid ambiguity) has a priority in English.

On these grounds, cultural scripts for selecting the sentence form would be generalized in both languages below respectively. The first script shows a common pragmatic rule for choosing the 'indirect form' in Japanese and English when the speaker says something bad about the listener:

A common cultural script for selecting the 'indirect form':

Japanese/English

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about someone'
- (b) when I want to say something about it to this person
- (c) if I know this person will feel something bad because of this
- (d) I can't say what I think (X) like this: 'I say: X'
- (e) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

eg. I think you are mistaken.

The script listed above manifests a general common rule concerning what is regarded as 'politeness' in both languages.

The following script represents a criterion for choosing the 'direct form' in Japanese when other people share information with the speaker:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when information is shared with other people:

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
- (b) if I know that it is true
- (c) if I know that other people think the same
- (d) I can say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’

eg. Tokyo wa hito ga oosugiru.
Tokyo TOP people NOM be.too.many

‘There are too many people in Tokyo.’

Thus, the Japanese speaker may choose the ‘direct form’ when he/she thinks that other people would not disagree. In the case where the speaker does not know what other people would say, he/she selects the ‘indirect form’:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when information is shared with other people:

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
- (b) if I don’t know that it is true
- (c) if I don’t know that other people think the same
- (d) it will be good if I don’t say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
- (e) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

eg. Watashi ni wa kono shigoto ga mui-te iru YOODESU.
I L-D TOP this job NOM be.suitable look-P

‘It looks like this job is suitable for me.’

In the case of English, on the other hand, the speaker may choose the ‘direct form’ as long as he/she knows it regardless of what other people might think:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when the speaker is certain of the information:

English

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
- (b) if I know that I can say: I know this
- (c) (then) I can say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
- (d) I don’t have to say something else about it

eg. My daughter speaks French very well.

As for the choice of the ‘indirect form’ in English, it can be portrayed as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when the speaker is not certain of the information:

English

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
- (b) if I know that I can’t say: I know this
- (c) (then) I can’t say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
- (d) I have to say something else about it

eg. It seems that my daughter speaks French very well.

All the scripts listed above illustrate what kind of rule regulates speakers in the choice of words in each language, and to what extent Japanese speakers are more ‘indirect’ compared to English speakers. Now we can see why Japanese language has a well-developed system of ‘indirect’ expressions, some of which do not have an equivalent counterpart in English. In the following chapter 6, I will focus on some ‘indirect’ expressions which are frequently used in formal Japanese written texts, and attempt to provide explications for those expressions by means of the NSM theory.

CHAPTER 6

Semantic Analysis of ‘Potential’ and ‘-RARE’ Forms in Japanese

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will concentrate on written texts and examine the function of some ‘indirect’ expressions which are frequently observed in written Japanese discourse. Our focus will be on what is called ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms (Teramura 1982): *i-eru* ‘I can say’, *omow-areru* ‘it seems’, and *kangae-rareru* ‘I can think’. This is because these ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms are frequently observed in formal written discourse, but their equivalent counterparts are not found in English written texts. Teramura (1978) and Nitta (1989) refer to these forms as ‘modal expressions’. I have discussed the function of *omow-aeru* in earlier work (Asano 1996), and Sato and Nishina (1997) have dealt with *kangae-rareru*. Those discussions, however, are still insufficient in the sense that they lack an integrated frame for these expressions, even though they are key formulaic idioms that are indispensable in order to comprehend Japanese discourse strategies. Section 6.1 presents data of written texts which were translated from Japanese into English, and shows how the ‘indirect form’ is rendered into English. Section 6.2 focuses on the ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms, and discusses the function of these forms from the point of view of the NSM theory.

6.1 Data of Written Texts

In this section, let us start with a simple observation of the data of written discourse, and look into how Japanese ‘indirect forms’ are rendered in English. In the same way as I analyzed the spoken texts, I collected the ‘indirect forms’ from 6 written texts in Japanese, and compared how they were translated into English in printed work. The result is shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Data of Written Texts (6 books)

Japanese indirect expressions	English indirect forms	English direct forms	Total
<i>daroo</i> 'probably'	141	195	336
<i>omou</i> 'I think'	79	92	171
<i>omow-areru</i> 'it seems'	74	37	111
<i>kamoshirenai</i> 'perhaps'	65	29	94
<i>kangae-rareru/-rareru nodearu</i> 'I can think'	47	26	73
<i>i-eru</i> 'I can say'	8	49	57
<i>yoo dearu</i> 'it appears'	16	30	46
<i>iu koto mo dekiru</i> 'it is also possible to say'	20	14	34
<i>ni chigainai</i> 'it must be'	21	6	27
<i>i-eru daroo</i> 'probably I can say'	11	13	24
<i>rashii</i> 'I heard'	8	13	21
<i>iu koto ga dekiru daroo</i> 'probably it is possible to say'	8	6	14
<i>miru koto ga dekiru</i> 'it is possible to consider'	10	4	14
<i>it-te yoi daroo</i> 'probably one may say'	5	8	13
<i>soo dearu</i> 'they say'	3	10	13
<i>it-te yoi</i> 'one may say'	4	6	10
<i>yoo ni mieru</i> 'it looks'	6	2	8
<i>it-te yoi kamoshirenai</i> 'perhaps one may say'	7	0	7
<i>ie yoo</i> 'probably one can say'	2	5	7
<i>kangaeru koto ga dekiru</i> 'it is possible to think'	3	4	7
<i>iu beki daroo</i> 'probably one should say'	1	4	5
<i>miru koto ga dekiyoo</i> 'probably it is possible to consider'	0	4	4
<i>kangae-rareru daroo</i> 'probably one can think'	2	1	3
<i>iu</i> 'people say'	3	0	3
<i>iwa-nakere-ba naranai</i> 'one has to say'	1	1	2
<i>kangae-rareru kamoshirenai</i> 'perhaps one can think'	1	1	2
<i>iu beki dearu</i> 'probably one should say'	0	2	2
<i>ie soo dearu</i> 'it looks like one can say'	2	0	2
<i>kangaete yoi daroo</i> 'probably one may think'	1	1	2
<i>kangae nakereba naranai</i> 'one has to think'	1	1	2
<i>soozoo sareru</i> 'one can imagine'	1	1	2
others	7	8	15
Total	558	573	1131

As shown in Table 1, out of 1131 indirect expressions, 573 'indirect forms' have been translated into the 'direct form' in English. As mentioned earlier, in conversational texts, out of 1130 'indirect form' sentences, 266 sentences were translated into the 'direct form' in English. Thus Table 1 shows that the difference in

communicative style becomes more obvious in written texts. This is probably because in English, as long as the writer is certain about the information, he/she can choose the 'direct form'. In written texts, the target addressees are unspecific, and the writer does not necessarily have to be careful not to make the readers feel bad. Therefore half of the 'indirect forms' in Japanese originals were considered unnecessary in the English data.

In the case of Japanese, however, the addresser is generally required to be considerate in choosing the 'direct form' since he/she does not know how addressees will think, and also, according to my hypothesis, the 'direct form' implies 'I know it is true'. This tendency becomes stronger in written texts since written languages remain as clear evidence of the writer's utterances. Therefore, when the writer refers to a present or past event/situation, even though it is objectively or historically doubtless, the writer tends to avoid the 'direct form' in Japanese, and thus implying that the writer does not have precise information. Let us first consider the following examples:

- (1)a. Shikashi, Nihon ni wa fukoona kako ga aru. Jieetai ga kaigai deno buryoku-katsudoo ni sanku suru koto ni taishite wa, mazu daiichini, kokumin no aida ni mada arerugii ga nokot-te iru. Kenpoo-ihan de wa nakute mo, kono kanjoo o mushi suru koto wa dekinai.

Daini ni, Ajia shokoku ni oite, kanari usurete kita towaie, imada kanjyoo-teki na teikookan ga aru YOODA.

(Ozawa 1993:150)

- b. History remains an obstacle. The Japanese people continue to have an aversion to SDF participation in overseas military activities. We cannot disregard this "allergy", regardless of whether such action violates the constitution.

Asian nations, too, still have an emotional resistance to the idea of Japanese participation in U.N. military activities, even if the intensity of the feeling has subsided considerably in many countries.

(Translated by L. Rubinfien 1993:119)

- (2)a. Mata firippusu no shain no katee ni manek-areru yooni nat-te miru to, dono ie mo seekatsu wa shisso dearu. Tooji no Nihon wa mada mazushii jidai deat-ta ga, sore to kurabete mite mo, shokuji nado wa Nihon no hoo ga harukani zeetaku deat-ta yooni OMOU.

(Yamashita 1987:42)

- b. Philips employees often invited me to their homes, and I noticed that they all lived rather frugally. Although Japan was still a poor country in the late 1950s, by comparison the Japanese ate luxuriously.

(Translated by F. Baldwin 1987:15)

In (1) the writer refers to Asian feelings toward Japan, and in (2) the writer comments on the lifestyle of Japanese in the 1950s. In both examples, since the validity of the information is high, the ‘direct form’ was chosen in English probably in order to ‘avoid obscurity’ (Grice 1975:46). By contrast, from a Japanese point of view, strictly speaking, the writers’ comments are not beyond an inference. Therefore, the writers avoid saying ‘I know it is true’, and choose the ‘indirect form’ in giving information for which they ‘lack the adequate evidence’ (Grice 1975:46).

This is also applicable even for the case where the writer gives his/her opinions, since the ‘direct form’ in Japanese could imply that the writer is ignoring other people’s different viewpoints. In other words, if the writer uses the ‘direct form’, which signifies ‘I know it is true that X’, this could imply ‘it is not true that not X’, and this easily causes friction among people in a discussion. For this reason, Japanese language has developed a considerable number of ‘indirect’ expressions in order to exchange opinions without causing a conflict. Among those ‘indirect’ expressions, the most characteristic ones are so called ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms. In the following sections, we shall focus on some of them, and examine their function.

6.2 ‘Potential’ and ‘-RARE’ Forms in Japanese

6.2.1 *I-eru*

It is generally claimed that mental predicates such as *iu* ‘say’, *omou* ‘think’ and *kangaeru* ‘think’ function as ‘modal’ expressions when they are used in the form of *i-eru*, *omow-areru*, and *kangae-rareru*, together with derivational suffixes *-eru/-(r)areru* (Teramura 1982; Nitta 1989; Asano 1996; Sato and Nishina 1997). These expressions are regarded as ‘indirect forms’, which are frequently observed in formal written discourse in Japanese; however, their equivalent counterparts are not found in English

written texts. In this section, I will attempt to analyze the meaning of these expressions and explain their function.

Before turning to a closer examination of each expression, let us look briefly at the function of derivational suffixes *-eru* */(r)areru*. The derivational suffixes *-eru* */(r)areru* are traditionally called ‘voice suffixes’ (Teramura 1982), and generally include the meanings usually described as ‘potential’, passive, ‘spontaneous’, and ‘honorific’:

(3) a. ‘Potential’

Kanojo wa Fransugo o hanas-eru
 she TOP French ACC speak-POTENTIAL
 ‘She can speak French.’

b. Passive

Ootoo ni keeki o tabe-rare-ta.
 my.brother by cake ACC eat-RARE-PAST
 ‘The cake was eaten by my brother.’

c. ‘Spontaneous’

Mukashi no koto ga omoidas-areru.
 old time of thing NOM recall-RARE
 ‘An old time (spontaneously) comes to my mind.’

d. ‘Honorific’

Sensee ga kono hon o kak-are-ta.
 teacher NOM this book ACC write-RARE-PAST
 ‘The teacher wrote the book.’

‘Spontaneous’ is a traditional term in Japanese grammar, which means ‘something (X) naturally comes into a certain state, or something (X) occurs by itself’ (Teramura 1982:271 my translation). As Teramura (1982:256) states, whether *-eru* */(r)areru*

implies passive, ‘spontaneous’, or ‘honorific’ depends on the context itself, and there are many cases where the distinction is not clear. Broadly speaking, however, it can be generalized depending on whether or not the verb stem ends with a vowel or consonant:

Table 2

Label	Potential	-RARE		
Semantic functions	potential	passive	spontaneous	honorific
Forms with VI	<i>-e(ru)</i>	<i>-are(ru)</i>		
Forms with VII	<i>-rare(ru)</i>	<i>-rare(ru)</i>		

VI is a category of verbs whose stem ends with a consonant, and VII is a category of verbs whose stem ends with a vowel. Table 2 indicates that *-eru* means ‘potential’ and *-are(ru)* carries passive, ‘spontaneous’ or ‘honorific’ when it suffixes VI, and *-rare(ru)* implies ‘potential’, passive, ‘spontaneous’ or ‘honorific’ when it suffixes VII.

In this section, I will focus on *i-eru*. Semantically, the part *i* is a conjugated form of *iu* (VI) ‘say’, and the second part *-eru* implies ‘potential’. Thus, roughly speaking, this expression can be translated as ‘I can say it like this’. *I-eru* is frequently observed in written discourse in Japanese, however, as shown in Table 3, this expression is translated into the ‘direct form’ or several other expressions in English, which suggests that *i-eru* is a characteristic ‘indirect’ expression of Japanese:

Table 3: *i-eru*

direct form	49
<i>could</i>	1
<i>we may also say</i>	1
<i>it can be said</i>	1
<i>it can also be</i>	1
<i>tend</i>	1
<i>it can also be seen</i>	1
<i>it can also be thought of</i>	1
<i>might</i>	1
Total	57

The omission of this expression in English, *i.e.* the ‘direct form’ is found in a case where the information seems beyond any doubt:

- (4)a. Reesen-jidai no kokuren wa, bee-so ni yoru haken arasoi no ba dat-ta. Konotame, soohoo no kyohiken niyotte nani hitotsu yuukoona heewa-iji-seesaku o torenakat-ta. Toozai-ryoo-jinee no ue ni ui-ta sonzai dat-ta to **I-ERU**.
(Ozawa 1993:128)
- b. The United Nations during the Cold War served as a stage for the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The veto power wielded by one or the other of the superpowers crippled any peace maintenance policy undertaken by the United Nations. The United Nations thus never succeeded in overcoming the standoff between the two great camps, East and West.
(Translated by L. Rubinfien 1993:113)
- (5)a. Ippan ni, nihon-shakai wa jyooohoo o jyuushi suru shakai dearu ga, sono jyooohoo ga denpa sareru ningen-kankee wa, oomune ie shakai no soto ni at-ta to **I-ERU**.
(Yamazaki 1990:78)
- b. Japanese society values information, but historically, the relationships through which information was transmitted generally existed outside the *ie* (house) framework.
(Translated by Barbara Sugihara 1990:87)

In (4), the writer talks about the U.N., and in (5), the writer refers to the *ie* (house) society in Japan. In each example, the ‘direct form’ is chosen in English. As we noted earlier, this is probably because the information is objectively or historically valid, and there is no need to select the ‘indirect’ expression in English.

From a Japanese point of view, however, there are other people who have further knowledge about the U.N., or the *ie* society, and these people might have different ideas about it. Especially regarding the U.N., there are currently a considerable number of people working for the organization, and the writer does not know what those people might think about the function of the U.N. If the writer proposes his/her personal point of view in the 'direct form', which connotes 'I know it is true' in Japanese, this can easily cause offense among readers. Furthermore, the statement might be considered a one-sided opinion which lacks objectivity. Therefore, in order to avoid an unfavourable reaction from readers, and to show that the writer's view is reliable, *i-eru* is selected, implying that the writer has reached the conclusion (X) as a result of consideration of other aspects. By means of the NSM theory, the definition of *i-eru* appears as follows:

i-eru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought many things about this
- (c) because of this, I can say it is true

Component (b) shows that the writer has considered other aspects. Component (c) indicates that the writer has reached the conclusion (X) as a result of such consideration.

In the data, there are similar expressions such as *i-eru daroo* 'probably I can say', *iu koto ga dekiru* 'it is possible to say', *it-te yoi* 'one may say', or *it-te yoi daroo* 'probably one may say', and so on. In most of the cases, no crucial difference is found in the meaning among them, and they seem interchangeable. The frequent use of these expressions in written texts reflects again that in Japanese, the writer considers what readers might think in choosing the sentence form, and *i-eru* functions as a strategic expression in giving information or opinions without causing any conflict with readers.

6.2.2 Omow-areru

Next is *omow-areru*. It is generally translated as ‘it seems’ in English; however, as shown in Table 4, it is often interpreted by means of several other expressions including the ‘direct form’, which suggests that there is some semantic difference between *omow-areru* and ‘it seems’:

Table 4: *omow-areru*

direct form	37
<i>it seems</i>	42
<i>I believe</i>	7
<i>probably</i>	4
<i>surely</i>	3
<i>might</i>	3
<i>would</i>	3
<i>undoubtedly</i>	2
<i>may</i>	2
<i>will</i>	1
<i>can</i>	1
<i>should</i>	1
<i>it is natural</i>	1
<i>I suspect</i>	1
<i>I feel sure</i>	1
<i>it is likely</i>	1
<i>could</i>	1
Total	111

Similarly to *i-eru*, *omow-areru* morphologically consists of two parts: the part *omow* is a conjugated form of *omou* (VI) ‘to think’, and the second part *-areru* means ‘spontaneous’¹. Thus, the overall meaning would be: ‘I spontaneously think like this’. That is, ‘I think about it like this, not because I want to’. While *omou* signifies the writer’s subjective thought, *omow-areru* implies that the writer naturally thinks like this, judging from circumstances. Therefore, *omow-areru* is used similarly to *i-eru*

¹ As Sato and Nishina (1997:71) point out, in modern Japanese, *to omo-eru* carries the meaning of ‘potential’, and thus it appears that *to omow-areru* includes ‘spontaneous’ only.

when the writer wants to avoid refutation from readers in conveying the information. This is illustrated by the below:

- (6)a. Nihonjin wa tanin ni okurimono o suru sai, sore o mazu kireena kami de tsutsumi, sarani sono ue o furoshiki de tsutsunde jisan suru no o tsune to shi-ta to OMOW-ARERU.
(Doi 1985b:127)
- b. In the traditional manner of gift giving, the gift was first carefully wrapped in paper and then the package was wrapped again in a furoshiki.
(Translated by M. A. Harbison 1985:111)
- (7)a. Nihon saidai no kakei to iubeki tennoo-ke wa, Murakami-shi ra ni yoreba mushiro kodai-shizoku-shakai no nagori da to sareteiru ga, kore o chuusee no ranse o tsuujite hoji shitsuzuke-ta mono mo, tabun ie (house) -shakai no doogi kankaku deat-ta to OMOW-ARERU.
(Yamazaki 1990:70)
- b. According to Murakami and his associates, the imperial line, Japan's greatest lineage, is a remnant of ancient clan society, but it survived the upheaval of the medieval period thanks to the moral sense of ie (house) society.
(Translated by Barbara Sugihara 1990:78)

In (6), the writer mentions that traditionally gifts were wrapped carefully in Japan, and in (7), the writer refers to the function of *ie* (house) society in pressuring the imperial line. In both examples, the writer talks about a past event which is historically beyond doubt, and therefore in English, the 'direct form' was chosen.

In Japanese, on the other hand, it is not safe to select the 'direct form' here since the information does not go beyond an inference, and the focus is on the fact, rather than whether or not it is indubitable. Therefore, the writer has to indicate to the readers that the writer has reached the conclusion X as a result of considering other aspects. It is more effective to indicate that the writer took a possible different view into account, rather than simply choosing the 'direct form', when the writer conveys information or persuades other people in Japanese. Therefore, the use of *omow-areru* is frequently observed when the writer gives his/her opinions:

- (8)a. Tokorode 'ki no yamai' to 'kichigai' wa, omoshiroi kotoni, sorezore ganrai oobeego no honyaku dearu shinkee-shoo to seeshin-byoo ni sootoo suru. Shikamo korera honyakugo yorimo, soshite mata motono oobeego yorimo, harukani yoku korera seeshin-shoogai no honshitsu o arawashiteiru to OMOW-ARERU.

(Doi 1985a:115)

- b. Interestingly enough, ki no yamai and kichigai correspond, respectively, to the modern terms shinkeeshoo and seeshinbyoo, both translations from European languages. Moreover, they reveal the essential nature of spiritual disorder far better than these translated terms, and even than the original European terms.

(Translated by J. Bester 1985:100)

- (9)a. Kono 'keeshiki' to 'naiyoo' to ni tsuite, toshi ya kenchiku toiu kanten kara machi o kansatsu shite miyoo. Mazu daiichi ni nobenakere ba naranai no wa, rekishitekini mite, seioo de wa 'keeshiki' o juushi suru noni taishite, wagakuni de wa 'keeshiki' yori 'naiyoo' o juushi shite kangae-te ki-ta to OMOW-ARERU.

(Ashihara 1989:15)

- b. Now, from what I see in Paris and from what I know of Tokyo, one of my first observations is that form has historically — at least since the Renaissance — had precedence in the West, while in Japan content — the inside of the building — has always been given greater attention.

(Translated by L. E. Riggs 1989:98)

In the examples (8) and (9) above, writers give their opinions about mental illness and architecture as a psychologist and an architect respectively. The writers are professionals in these fields, and they should know their own fields far better than general readers. Therefore, one might think that the writers have the right to choose the 'direct form' as in English. There are, however, other readers who are psychologists or architects, and the writers do not know what these professionals might think; they could have a different opinion. Therefore, considering the case where other people might think differently, *omow-areru* is chosen instead of the 'direct form' in Japanese. In this sense, the function of *omow-areru* is different from 'it seems' since *omow-areru* is used to imply that the writer has considered other aspects and finally reached the conclusion. One might say that this form is chosen in order to avoid refutation from readers, and not to suggest that the writer is uncertain. The following is the semantic explication of *omow-areru*:

omow-areru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought many things about this
- (c) because of this, I can't not think that it is true

Component (b) shows that the writer has considered other aspects. In component (c), ‘I can’t not think’ indicates that the writer has inescapably reached the conclusion as a result of such consideration.

6.2.3 *Kangae-rareru*

Finally, we discuss *kangae-rareru*. The part *kangae* is a conjugated form of *kangaeru* (VII) ‘think’ and the second part *-rareru* indicates ‘potential’. Thus, the expression literally means: ‘I can think.’ As shown in Table 5 below, however, it is rendered by means of various other expressions including the ‘direct form’ in English:

Table 5: *kangae-rareru /rareru nodearu*

direct form	26
<i>it would seem</i>	16
<i>probably</i>	3
<i>will be</i>	3
<i>can be seen</i>	2
<i>may be seen</i>	2
<i>it seems likely</i>	2
<i>I think</i>	1
<i>we can think</i>	1
<i>conceivably</i>	1
<i>can be said</i>	1
<i>perhaps</i>	1
<i>one might see</i>	1
<i>it seems possible</i>	1
<i>likely</i>	1
<i>we can conclude</i>	1
<i>it is also conceivable</i>	1
<i>can be considered</i>	1
<i>can also be</i>	1
Total	73

Semantically, *kangae-rareru* is similar to *omow-areru*, and in many cases, they are interchangeable. According to Onishi (1994:367), the difference between *omou* and *kangaeru* lies in the *process* of thinking: ‘*Omou* covers the whole range of thought which may occur in the mind. *Kangaeru*, on the other hand, only refers to a certain idea or opinion which one forms after being engaged in the conscious process of thinking’. It thus appears that *omow-areru* refers to the addresser’s judgement of ‘I think’ as a result of thoughts which naturally ‘occurred in the mind’, whereas *kangae-rareru* includes the addresser’s judgement of ‘I can think’ as a result of ‘conscious thoughts as a certain idea or opinion’. Therefore, *omow-areru* can manifest the addresser’s general thoughts which occur spontaneously, while *kangae-rareru* cannot:

- (10) Tokidoki kazoku no koto ga shinpai ni OMOW-ARE-MASU.
sometimes family GEN thing NOM worry L-D think -RARE-P

‘Sometimes I cannot help being worried about my family.’

- (11)?? Tokidoki kazoku no koto ga shinpai ni KANGAE-RARE-MASU.
sometimes family GEN thing NOM worry L-D think-RARE-P

‘Sometimes I cannot help being worried about my family.’

Judging from the above, the semantic explication of *kangae-rareru* can be portrayed as follows:

kangae-rareru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought about this many times before
- (c) because I wanted to think about it
- (d) because of this, I can think that it is true

The difference from *omow-areru* is manifested in components (b) and (c): the parts ‘I thought about this’ and ‘because I wanted to think about it’ indicate ‘the conscious

process of thinking', whereas in the case of *omow-areru*, 'I thought many things' in component (b) refers to 'the whole range of thought which may occur in the mind'.

Let us offer the examples where *kangae-rareru* is selected. Similarly to *omow-areru*, this expression is used when the writer gives his/her opinion:

- (12)a. Ippoo, koodo-koogyoo -shakai no shinten to tomoni, toshi ni kyuusokuni jinkoo ga shuuchuushi, toshi wa hi-shizentekina taikutsuna kankyoo tonari, soko niwa hitobito no kamoshidasu enerrugii ga uzumaki, ikken, busshitsumen de wa juusoku sareta kanoyooni mieru ga, seeshinmen nioite wa ikanimo fujuubun dearu to KANGAE-RARERU.
(Ashihara 1989:159)

- b. With the growth of industrialized society, populations rapidly began to concentrate in the cities, and the urban environment became artificial and alienating. In the whirl of energy generated by human activity in such an environment, life appears superficially — at least in the material sense — to be satisfying, but spiritually, it is not in the least fulfilled.
(Translated by L. E. Riggs 1989:39)

- (13)a. Jiyuu toiu kotoba wa, ganrai wa chuugokugo dearu ga, waga kuni demo furuku kara tsukawarete iru yoodearu. Sono imi suru tokoro wa, 'jiyuu kimama' toiu iikata ga anji suru yooni, honsho de mondai to shiteiru amae no ganboo to kanari missetsuna kankee ni aruto mieru ten ga kyoomi-bukai. Sunawachi wagakuni de jyuurai jiyuu to ieba, amaeru jiyuu, sunawachi wagamama o imishita to KANGAE-RARERU.
(Doi 1985a:94)

- b. The Japanese word *jiyu*, usually used to translate the English word "freedom" and other Western words of similar meaning, is of Chinese origin, but seems to have been used in Japan from an early date. What is interesting for us here is that the meaning in which it was traditionally used — seems to have a close connection with the desire of *amae*. "Freedom" in Japan, in other words, has traditionally meant the freedom to *amaeru*, that is, to behave as one pleases, without considering others.
(Translated by J. Bester 1985:84)

These examples are, in English, completely natural without 'I can think', and there is no need to express them by the 'indirect form' since the writer gives his/her opinion, and the writer's truth or falsehood judgement of the fact is not the theme of the context. If the writer believes that his/her view is reasonable, he/she can convey it in the 'direct form'.

Conversely, in these examples in Japanese, the ‘indirect form’ *kangae-rareru* is selected, and the writer’s attitude towards a truth or falsehood judgement is undecided. From an English point of view, readers would perceive uncertainty in the utterance, and this indecisive attitude is one reason why Japanese discourse style is characterized as being ‘unclear’ or ‘ambiguous’ (Ikegami 1981; Inoue 1993).

However, from a Japanese point of view, as to the writer’s truth or falsehood judgements whether ‘spiritually, life is not in the least fulfilled’ or ‘freedom in Japan has traditionally meant the freedom to *amaeru*’, historians or professionals have no direct experience of such present/past situations. The writer does not have precise information on the matter, and therefore in Japanese, it is considered more appropriate to choose *kangae-rareru* which implies that the writer has reached the conclusion X after consideration.

In the data, it was observed that the derived form *kangae-rareru nodearu* was also frequently used instead of *kangae-rareru*. Although *kangae-rareru* and *kangae-rareru nodearu* are generally interchangeable, the latter includes the meaning that the statement is based on some reason, implying ‘I can say why I think that it is true’:

kangae-rareru nodearu

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought about this many times before
- (c) because I wanted to think about it
- (d) because of this, I can think that it is true
- (e) I can say why I think that it is true

From an English point of view, the frequent use of these ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms might look unnecessary or even odd, but these forms reflect the writer’s cautious attitude to avoid saying ‘I know it is true’, and we can see that these expressions function as an important communicative strategy in conveying information

and giving opinions in Japanese discourse. I propose the following Japanese cultural script which is manifested in the ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms:

Japanese cultural script embedded in the potential and -RARE forms:

- (a) when I want to say something (X) about something
- (b) if I say I know it is true
- (c) if other people don’t think the same
- (d) these people could feel something bad
- (e) I don’t want this
- (f) because of this, it will be good if I don’t say I know that it is true
- (g) it will be good if I say I can say /think that it is true

In component (g), ‘say’ would apply to *i-eru*, and ‘think’ would apply to *omow-areru* and *kangae-rareru*.

Now that we are able to see how the Japanese core cultural value of *enryo* is reflected in these ‘indirect’ expressions. The writer refrains from saying ‘directly’ what he/she wants to say, but conveys his/her information or opinion ‘indirectly’ by means of the so-called ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ form.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

In this thesis, in order to clarify the Japanese communicative style from a cross-cultural point of view, I proposed Japanese cultural scripts by means of the NSM theory, focusing on the issue of evidentiality and ‘indirectness’. As for the issue of evidentiality, I reexamined the theory of territory of information, and analyzed the criteria which govern the choice of the sentence form through translated and published texts from Japanese into English.

Through the analyses, we observed that in the case of Japanese, even though the information falls into the speaker’s territory, the ‘indirect form’ is selected; whereas in English, even though the information does not fall into the speaker’s territory, the ‘direct form’ is selected. Thus I arrive at the conclusion that the notion of the territory does not play a significant role in choosing the sentence form in either language.

Our analyses lead to the conclusion that the sentence form is decided basically by the degree of certainty of the speaker in both languages. In Japanese, however, when a speaker conveys information which is shared with other people, even though the speaker is sure of a fact, if the speaker does not know what the listener or other people might think, the ‘indirect form’ is chosen in order to show consideration for other people’s cognition who share the information. By means of the NSM theory, this Japanese cultural script can be represented as follows:

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about something’
- (b) when I think other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about it
- (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (e) If I say what I think (X)
- (f) if other people don’t think the same about it

- (g) these people could feel something bad
- (h) I don't want this
- (i) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
 'I say: X'
- (j) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)

On the other hand, in English, except in the case where the speaker says something bad about the listener, as long as the speaker is sure of the fact, the 'direct form' can be chosen regardless of what the listener or other people might think.

The tendency to avoid the 'direct form' in Japanese clearly reflects Japanese core cultural values such as *enryo* (roughly, 'constraint', or 'restraint'), *wa* (roughly, 'harmony'), or *omoiyari* (roughly, 'consideration'). Thus we see how Japanese discourse is regulated by 'how to say it', compared to English discourse, and in this sense, the Japanese communicative style can be described as being more 'indirect' than that of English.

The difference of communicative style between Japanese and English might be explained entirely by the cultural differences; however, through the analyses and the reexamination of previous studies, it was observed that there remains an unsettled question whether the speaker's mood associated with the 'direct form' in Japanese is semantically completely equivalent to the one in English.

As a result of the semantic analysis of the 'direct form', I have come to the conclusion that the speaker's mood associated with a prototype of the 'direct form' in English implies 'I know', whereas in Japanese it includes 'I know it is true'. I have proved this slight semantic gap between these two languages through the analysis of sentences which describe a second or third person's mental states. Since the 'direct form' connotes 'I know it is true' in Japanese, when a speaker conveys information, he/she first considers if the information is certainly true, or if other people might think the same, and decides the sentence form, depending on the decision. Thus we see why

the 'direct form' is generally avoided in Japanese, and why Japanese discourse is characterized as being 'indirect', compared with English.

Therefore, due to the difference of the speaker's mood, there could be miscommunication between a Japanese speaker and an English speaker. That is to say, a Japanese speaker may choose the 'indirect form' in speaking in English in an unnecessary situation, and as a result, it would be regarded as being too 'indirect' to English speakers. In the same way, an English speaker may use the 'direct form' in speaking in Japanese in an inappropriate way, and as a result, it would be described as being too 'direct' to Japanese speakers. From a cross-cultural point of view, the understanding of the communicative difference is crucial, especially in the multi-cultural societies of today.

This tendency to avoid the 'direct form' can also be observed in written texts in Japanese. In the data of this study, out of 1130 sentences, half of them have been translated into the 'direct form' in English, which shows there is a clear difference in the communicative style of these two languages. In the analysis of the written texts, I focused on the so-called 'potential' and '-RARE' expressions *i-eru*, *omow-areru*, and *kangae-rareru*, which do not have exact equivalent expressions in English, and I proposed explications of each expression by means of the NSM theory. These expressions are frequently used in written discourse in order not to cause conflict with readers, and the understanding of their function is indispensable in the comprehension of Japanese written discourse.

In addition to the conclusion above, we may note a few more points. Through the analyses of the translated data, it was observed that the 'indirect form' in Japanese is rendered into a semantically different 'indirect form' in English not only by one translator, but several. For example, there are several cases where the Japanese 'indirect form' *mitai* 'it looks' was translated into 'I think' in English, and similarly, 'I think' in English was rendered into *daroo/deshoo* 'probably' in Japanese, which

suggests that there would be a slight semantic difference between some Japanese ‘indirect forms’ and English ‘indirect forms’. There is room for further investigation to prove the difference by means of the NSM theory. Furthermore, from a sociolinguistic point of view, it would be worth investigating the difference between communicative styles of male and female speakers, and also among Australian, British and American speakers. We also need to draw attention to the relation between the form of utterance and intonations in each languages. Finally, as for the speaker’s mood associated with a prototype of the ‘direct form’ in other languages, whether it signifies ‘I know’ as in English or ‘I know it is true’ as in Japanese, this remains to be tested in future analyses.

Appendix

Cultural scripts explicated in terms of the NSM theory are composed of universal concepts, and are based on language-independent syntax. Therefore, they can be translated into any human language. Here I made an attempt to explain cultural scripts and some of the semantic formulae of ‘indirect’ expressions which were proposed in this thesis, by means of the NSM theory on the basis of Japanese. The purpose of this attempt is to demonstrate the language-independent character of the NSM theory, and also to explore some problems involved in translating the formulae into Japanese.

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when information falls into the speaker’s territory:

English

when I think something (X) about me
I can say it to another person
I don’t have to say something else about it

jibun nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru toki
watashi wa sore o hokano hito ni ieru
watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii

Japanese

when I think something (X) about me
I can’t say it to another person
I will say something else about it because of this

jibun nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru toki
watashi wa sore o hokano hito ni ie-nai
dakara watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iu daroo

These are Japanese equivalents to English formulae which explain the choice of the ‘direct form’ in English, and the ‘indirect form’ in Japanese when a speaker refers to his/her thoughts on personal matter. The formulae are quite simple, and easy to understand in Japanese. The problem in the above formulae is the translation of mental predicate *think*. In the present NSM theory (Onishi 1994, 1997), the candidate for *think* is *omou*. However, Japanese *omou* only refers to the speaker’s mental state, and therefore it cannot be used to describe the mental state of a second or third person. On the other hand, if *omou* takes the auxiliary *iru*, it can describe not only the speaker’s but also the second or third person’s inner states. In other words, the use of *omou* in Japanese is more limited than that of English *think*, and thus it appears that *omot-te iru* is a better candidate for *think*. This issue is quite complex, and therefore it needs further consideration for the NSM theory on the basis of Japanese.

Another problem is the translation of the first person pronoun *I*. The candidate for *I* in the present NSM theory is *ore* (Onishi 1994). However, I translated it into *watashi* since *ore* sounds quite masculine, and its use is generally limited to male speakers. As Onishi (1994) states, this issue needs further consideration.

In this thesis, I focused on cultural scripts for the choice of the sentence form in cases where information is shared with other people. Scripts translated into Japanese are as follows:

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when information falls into the speaker’s and a specific third person’s territory:

English

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about someone (A)’
 - (b) when I want to say something about this to another person (B)
 - (c) I can say what I think (X) to this person (B)
 - (d) if I know this person (B) will not feel something bad because of this
 - (e) I don’t have to say something else about it
-
- (a) ‘dareka (A) nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-te iru’ to omot-te iru toki
 - (b) kore nitsuite nanika hokano hito (B) ni ii-tai toki

- (c) *watashi wa kono hito (B) ni omot-te iru koto (X) o i-eru*
- (d) *kono tameni kono hito (B) ga nanika iyana kimochi ga shinaito shit-te ireba*
- (e) *watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii*

Japanese

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about someone (A)'
 - (b) when I want to say something about this to another person (B)
 - (c) before I say this, I have to think about it
 - (d) if I say what I think (X)
 - (e) if this person (A) doesn't think the same
 - (f) this person (A) could feel something bad
 - (g) I don't want this
 - (h) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
 - (i) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
-
- (a) '*dareka (A) nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-te iru*' to *omot-te iru toki*
 - (b) *kore nitsuite nanika hokano hito (B) ni ii-tai toki*
 - (c) *kore o yuu mae ni, watashi wa kangae nakereba naranai*
 - (d) *watashi ga omot-te iru koto (X) o ieba*
 - (e) *kono hito (A) ga onaji yooni omot-te inakereba*
 - (f) *kono hito (A) wa nanika iyana kimochi ga suru kamoshirenai*
 - (g) *watashi wa kore o hoshiku-nai*
 - (h) *dakara, omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni iwanai hooga ii daroo:*
'*watashi wa iu: X*'
 - (i) (*kono yooni dewa naku*) *hokano ii kata de sore o iu hooga ii daroo*

These are formulae which explain the criterion for choosing the 'indirect form' in Japanese, and the 'direct form' in English when information falls into the speaker's and also a third person's territory. The formulae are also quite simple, and easily tested. One point which has to be noted is the translation of *think*. In the present NSM theory (Onishi 1994, 1997), this mental predicate has two candidates: *omou* and *kangaeru*. Onishi (1997:221) states that *omou* refers to 'a spontaneous nonvolitional type of thinking', while *kangaeru* refers to 'a conscious analytical thinking process'. As Onishi points out, *kangaeru* seems to be semantically more complex than *omou*, and thus it appears that *omou* (or *omotte iru*) is a better

candidate than *kangaeru*. However, in the component (c) for Japanese formula, *kangaeru* definitely sounds better for the translation of 'I have to think about it', since *think* in this component implies 'a conscious analytical thinking process' (Onishi 1997:221). Therefore, it would seem that *omou* (or *omot-te iru*) and *kangaeru* (or *kangae-te iru*) are allolexes of the same primitive *think*.

The following translations are cultural scripts which explain the choice of the sentence form when information is shared with other people including the listener.

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information falls within the speaker's, the general third person's, and also the listener's territory:

English

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something (someone)'
- (b) when I think that other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about this to one of these people
- (d) I can say what I think (X)
- (e) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
- (f) I don't have to say something else about it

- (a) 'dareka (nanika) nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-te iru' to omot-te iru toki
- (b) hokano hitotachi mo kore nitsuite onaji koto o shiru koto ga dekiru to watashi ga omot-te iru toki
- (c) korerano hitotachi no hitori ni kore nitsuite nanika ii-tai toki
- (d) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o ieru
- (e) kono tameni kono hito ga nanika iyana kimochi ga shinai to shit-te ireba
- (f) watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii

Japanese

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something (someone)'
- (b) when I think that other people can know the same thing about this
- (c) when I want to say something about this to one of these people
- (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
- (e) if I say what I think (X)
- (f) if other people don't think the same
- (g) these people could feel something bad
- (h) I don't want this
- (i) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'

- (j) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
- (a) 'nanika (dareka) nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-teiru' to omot-te iru toki
 (b) hokano hitotachi mo kore ni tsuite onaji koto o shiru koto ga dekiru to
 watashi ga omot-te iru toki
 (c) kono hitotachi no hitori ni kore nitsuite nanika ii-tai toki
 (d) kore o iu maeni, watashi wa kangae nakereba naranai
 (e) watashi ga omot-te iru koto (X) o ieba
 (f) kono hitotachi ga onaji yooni omot-te inakereba
 (g) kono hitotachi wa nanika iyana kimochi ga suru kamoshirenai
 (h) watashi wa kore o hoshiku-nai
 (i) dakara, omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni iwanai hooga ii daroo:
 'watashi wa iu: X'
 (j) (kono yooni dewa naku) hokano iikata de sore o iu hooga ii daroo

These formulae explain the criterion for choosing the 'indirect form' in Japanese, and the 'direct form' in English when information falls into the speaker's, the general third person's, and also the listener's territory. The formula for this case in Japanese is more complex than other formulae since this script indicates that the speaker considers the cognition of other people including the listener. I translated 'these people' to *kono hitotachi* (*kono* 'this') since *korerano* ('these') sounds redundant in this case in Japanese.

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information falls into the speaker's and the listener's territory:

English

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something'
 (b) when I think another person can know the same thing about this
 (c) when I want to say something about it to this person
 (d) I can say what I think (X)
 (e) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
 (f) I don't have to say something else about it
- (a) watashi ga 'nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-teiru' to omot-te iru toki
 (b) hokano hito mo kore nitsuite onaji koto o shiru koto ga dekiru to watashi
 ga omot-te iru toki
 (c) watashi ga sore nitsuite kono hito ni nanika ii-tai toki
 (d) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o i-eru

- (e) kono tameni kono hito ga nanika iyana kimochi ga shinaito shit-te ireba
- (f) watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii

Japanese

- (a) when I think: 'I know something (X) about something'
 - (b) when I think another person can know the same thing about this
 - (c) when I want to say something about it to this person
 - (d) before I say this, I have to think about it
 - (e) if I say what I think (X)
 - (f) if this person doesn't think the same
 - (g) this person could feel something bad
 - (h) I don't want this
 - (i) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
 - (i) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
-
- (a) watashi ga 'nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-te iru' to omot-te iru toki
 - (b) hokano hito mo kore nitsuite onaji koto o shiru koto ga dekiru to watashi
ga omot-te iru toki
 - (c) watashi ga sore nitsuite kono hito ni nanika ii-tai toki
 - (d) kore o yuu maeni, watashi wa kangae nakereba naranai
 - (e) watashi ga omot-te iru koto (X) o ieba
 - (f) kono hito ga onaji yooni omot-te inakereba
 - (g) kono hito wa nanika iyana kimochi ga suru kamoshirenai
 - (h) watashi wa kore o hoshiku-nai
 - (i) dakara, omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni iwanai hooga ii daroo:
'watashi wa iu: X'
 - (j) (kono yooni dewa naku) hokano iikata de sore o iu hooga ii daroo

These formulae explain the rule for choosing the 'direct form' in English, and the 'indirect form' in Japanese in the case where the speaker shares information with the listener. As well as in other formulae, *omot-te iru* seems to be a better translation of *think* in the component 'when I think' and 'what I think', rather than *omou* since *omou* implies the speaker's instantaneous thinking state, and therefore it cannot manifest second or third person's thinking state. Namely, there seems to be a semantic difference between *omou* and *omot-te iru*, and thus this point requires further consideration for the NSM theory.

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information falls exclusively into the listener's territory:

English

- (a) when I want to say to someone: 'I think something (X) about you'
 - (b) I can say what I think (X) to this person
 - (c) if I know this person will not feel something bad because of this
 - (d) I don't have to say something else about it
-
- (a) watashi ga dareka ni 'watashi wa anata nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru' to ii-tai toki
 - (b) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o kono hito ni i-eru
 - (c) kono tameni kono hito ga nanika iyana kimochi ga shi-nai to shit-te ireba
 - (d) watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to someone: 'I think something (X) about you'
 - (b) before I say this to this person, I have to think about it
 - (c) if I say what I think (X)
 - (d) if this person doesn't think the same
 - (e) this person could feel something bad
 - (f) I don't want this
 - (g) because of this, it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
 - (h) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
-
- (a) watashi ga dareka ni 'watashi wa anata nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru' to ii-tai toki
 - (b) kono hito ni kore o yuu maeni, watashi wa kangae nakereba naranai
 - (c) watashi ga omot-te iru koto o ieiba
 - (d) kono hito ga onaji yooni omot-te inakereba
 - (e) kono hito wa nanika iyana kimochi ga suru kamoshirenai
 - (f) watashi wa kore o hoshiku-nai
 - (g) dakara, omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni iwanai hoo ga ii daroo:
'watashi wa iu: X'
 - (h) (kono yooni dewa naku) hokano iikata de sore o yuu hoo ga ii daroo

These are formulae which explain the choice of the 'direct form' in English, and the 'indirect form' in Japanese in the case where a speaker refers to a matter which is related to the listener. The formula for the case of Japanese is simpler than other formulae since it focuses on the case where the speaker considers what the listener

might think. The problem here is the translation of the second person pronoun *you*. The candidate for *you* in the present NSM theory is *omae* (Onishi 1994). However, I translated it into *anata* since *omae* sounds quite masculine and its use is generally limited to male speakers. This issue, together with the translation of *I*, needs further investigation.

The following translations are the semantic formulae for a prototype of the 'direct form' in English and Japanese, and the '*noda/nodesu* form':

a prototype of the 'direct form' in English

I know

watashi wa shit-te iru

a prototype of the 'direct form' in Japanese

I know it is true

watashi wa sore ga hontoo da to shit-te iru

the 'noda/nodesu form'

I know it is true

I can say why I know it is true

watashi wa sore ga hontoo da to shit-te iru

watashi wa naze sore ga hontoo da to shit-te iru ka i-eru

Each formula is quite simple and easy to understand. The following scripts are refined formulae which explain the choice of the sentence form on the basis of the above formulae:

A common cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’:

Japanese/English

- (a) when I think: ‘I know something (X) about someone’
 - (b) when I want to say something about it to this person
 - (c) if I know this person will feel something bad because of this
 - (d) I can’t say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
 - (e) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
-
- (a) ‘dareka nitsuite nanika (X) o shit-te iru’ to omot-te iru toki
 - (b) watashi ga sore nitsuite nanika kono hito ni ii-tai toki
 - (c) kono tameni kono hito ga nanika iyana kimochi ga suru to shit-te ireba
 - (b) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni ienai: ‘watashi wa yuu: X’
 - (d) (kono yooni dewa naku) hokano iikata de sore o yuu hoo ga ii daroo

A cultural script for selecting the ‘direct form’ when the speaker is certain of the information:

English

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
 - (b) if I know that I can say: I know this
 - (c) (then) I can say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
 - (d) I don’t have to say something else about it
-
- (a) nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru to hokano hito ni ii-tai toki
 - (b) ‘watashi wa kore o shit-te iru’ to ieru to shit-te ireba
 - (c) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni i-eru: ‘watashi wa yuu: X’
 - (d) watashi wa sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-naku-te mo ii

A cultural script for selecting the ‘indirect form’ when the speaker is not certain of the information:

English

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
 - (b) if I know that I can’t say: I know this
 - (c) (then) I can’t say what I think (X) like this: ‘I say: X’
 - (d) I have to say something else about it
-
- (a) nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru to hokano hito ni iit-ai toki
 - (b) ‘watashi wa kore o shit-teiru’ to ie-nai to shit-te ireba

- (c) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni ie-nai: 'watashi wa yuu: X'
- (d) sore nitsuite hokano nanika o iwa-nakereba naranai

A cultural script for selecting the 'direct form' when information is shared with other people:

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
 - (b) if I know that it is true
 - (c) if I know that other people would think the same
 - (d) I can say what I think (X) like this: 'I say: X'
-
- (a) nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru to hokano hito ni ii-tai toki
 - (b) sore ga hontoo da to shit-te ireba
 - (c) hokano hitotachi mo onaji yooni omot-te iru to shit-te ireba
 - (d) watashi wa omot-te iru koto o kono yooni i-eru: 'watashi wa yuu: X'

A cultural script for selecting the 'indirect form' when information is shared with other people:

Japanese

- (a) when I want to say to another person that I think something (X) about something
 - (b) if I don't know that it is true
 - (c) if I don't know that other people think the same
 - (d) it will be good if I don't say what I think (X) like this:
'I say: X'
 - (i) it will be good if I say it in another way (not like this)
-
- (a) nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o omot-te iru to hokano hito ni ii-tai toki
 - (b) sorega hontoo da to shira-nakereba
 - (c) hokano hitotachi mo onaji yooni omot-te iru to shira-nakereba
 - (d) watashi wa omot-te iru koto (X) o kono yooni iwanai hoo ga ii daroo:
'watashi wa yuu: X'
 - (e) (kono yooni dewa naku) hokano iikata de sore o yuu hoo ga ii daroo

In this thesis, I attempted to give the semantic formula of some ‘indirect’ expressions in Japanese (*i-eru*, *omow-areru*, *kangae-rareru*). The translation of each expression is given below:

ieru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought many things about this
- (c) because of this, I can say it is true

- (a) ima nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o ii-tai
- (b) watashi wa kore nitsuite takusan no koto o kangae-ta
- (c) dakara sore ga hontoo da to watashi wa i-eru

omow-areru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought many things about this
- (c) because of this, I can’t not think that it is true

- (a) ima nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o ii-tai
- (b) kore nitsuite takusan no koto o omot-ta
- (c) dakara sore ga hontoo da to omowa-nai koto wa deki-nai

kangae-rareru

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
- (b) I thought about this many times before
- (c) because I wanted to think about it
- (d) because of this, I can think that it is true

- (a) ima nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o ii-tai
- (b) watashi wa maeni nando mo kore nitsuite kangae-ta
- (c) nazenara watashi wa sore nitsuite kangae-takat-ta kara
- (d) dakara, sore ga hontoo da to watashi wa kangaeru koto ga dekiru

kangae-rareru nodearu

- (a) I want to say something (X) about something now
 - (b) I thought about this many times before
 - (c) because I wanted to think about it
 - (d) because of this, I can think that it is true
 - (e) I can say why I think that it is true
-
- (a) ima nanika nitsuite nanika (X) o ii-tai
 - (b) watashi wa maeni nando mo kore nitsuite kangae-ta
 - (c) nazenara watashi wa sore nitsuite kangae-ta-kat-ta kara
 - (d) dakara, sore ga hontoo da to watashi wa kangaeru koto ga dekiru
 - (e) watashi wa naze sore ga hontoo da to kangaeru ka ieru

These are Japanese translations of semantic formulae for ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms. Although some components sound a little bit odd, the semantic formulae are quite simple, and intuitively clear. Further semantic analysis is needed for other ‘indirect forms’. The following is a translation of a cultural script which reflects the choice of these ‘potential’ and ‘-RARE’ forms.

Japanese cultural script embedded in the potential/-RARE forms:

- (a) when I want to say something (X) about something
 - (b) if I say: ‘I know it is true’
 - (c) if other people don’t think the same
 - (d) these people could feel something bad
 - (e) I don’t want this
 - (f) because of this, it will be good if I don’t say: ‘I know it is true’
 - (g) it will be good if I say: ‘I can say/think it is true’
-
- (a) nanika nitsuite nanika (X) to ii-tai toki
 - (b) sore ga ‘hontoo da to shit-teiru’ to ieba
 - (c) hokano hitotachi ga onaji yooni omot-e i-nakereba
 - (d) kono hitotachi wa nanika iyana kimochi ga suru kamoshirenai
 - (e) watashi wa kore o hoshiku-nai
 - (f) dakara, ‘sore ga hontoo da to shit-teiru’ to iwanai hoo ga ii daroo
 - (g) ‘sore ga hontoo da to yuu/omou koto ga dekiru’ to yuu hoo ga ii daroo

This formula is clearer than other scripts which explain the choice of the ‘indirect forms’ since it focuses on the choice of the ‘potential/’-RARE’ forms, and we can see what kind of ‘indirect’ expression the speaker will choose instead of the ‘direct form’.

The attempt to translate cultural scripts and semantic formulae in Japanese left some issues which need to be examined in the future. One problem is the translation of mental predicate *think*. As noted earlier, *omou* only manifests the speaker’s inner thoughts or feelings, and therefore, the use of *omou* seems to be problematic as a translation of this predicate. This issue is quite complex, and needs further investigation. In addition to this, we observed that in some context, *kangaeru* sounds better (eg. in ‘I have to think about it’) for the translation of *think* than *omou* (or *omot-te iru*). It appears that *omou* (or *omot-te iru*) and *kangaeru* (or *kangae-te iru*) are allolexes of the same primitive, and this issue also requires further consideration. Apart from these issues, some formulae proved that the NSM theory does not carry any language-specific values. I hope that the formulae proposed in this thesis and the attempt to translate them into Japanese would make a contribution to a better understanding of the different communicative styles.

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